

EVEN HIS BEST FRIENDS WILL TELL HIM

As
stock
prices
slide
and
inflation
persists,
business
leaders
join
the
chorus
of
Reagan
critics.



Lenon 81

HARD- HATTED WOMEN



Getting
a
construction
job
is
only
half
the
battle

THE INSIDE STORY



Roy Jenkins, a former leader of the Labour Party's right wing, won 42 percent of the vote in a recent by-election. Most of his votes came from the Conservatives.

Tory refugees may bolster new party

By Mervyn Jones

L O N D O N

The Social-Democratic Party is the first new party, aside from splinters to the far left and far right, to appear on the British political scene since the Labour Party was founded in the early years of this century. Or at least since the Communist Party was founded in 1920—a comparison that SDPers wouldn't wish to make, for that was also an attempt to split the Labour Party.

In its origins, the SDP is simply the right wing of the Labour Party. Roy Jenkins and Williams Rodgers, two of the four founders, were faithful aides of the late Hugh Gaitskell during the internecine party battles of the early '60s. Gaitskell, after some close calls, triumphed over the left, and the right was confirmed in its longstanding belief that it would always retain control.

But the Labour left returned to the barricades after a period of truce and made headway in the '70s—at an accelerating rate, especially after the party went into opposition in 1979. Conference resolutions now commit the party to unilateral nuclear disarmament, to sweeping measures of public ownership, to an economic policy of import controls, and to quitting the European Community; all of these are anathema to the right.

Conference resolutions, however, have been ignored by Labour governments for decades. What the right couldn't stomach was that the left, for the first time, pressed for changes in the party constitution to ensure that radical policies got implemented. Members of Parliament were to be reelected every five years, instead of being virtually safe for life; the party manifesto (platform) was to be closely tied to conference votes; and the leader and deputy leader were to be elected at the conference, not, as before, by MPs alone.

Right-wingers began to ask themselves whether they could stay in a party in which they might be a protesting, powerless minority. In 1980, when the procedural changes went into effect, some of them walked out. Bitter left-wingers pointed out that they have been a pro-

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testing, powerless minority all their political lives and have never considered a walkout. The charge is: "You can dish it out, but you can't take it."

When the SDP was formed on March 26, the question was: How drastically did it split the Labour Party? The answer was: not down the middle, or anything like it. National figures of clearly right-wing outlook, such as Denis Healey and Merlyn Rees (also firm Gaitskellites in the past) didn't make the move. Though well over 100 MPs can be identified as right-wingers by their stand on the key issues, only 14 went to the SDP.

At a grassroots level, the story was the same. In my own London borough, for example, only one of 47 Labour councillors has joined the SDP. Nowhere has there been more than a thin trickle of councillors or party office-holders.

In May SDP membership was said to stand at 46,000, with several thousand more people cautiously offering themselves as "supporters." By now, membership has risen to 52,000. It's a symptom of the general intoxication that a normally calm political correspondent has described this figure as "hugely impressive." The Tory Party has more than a million members (admittedly, many belong for social advantages and the tennis). Labour still has more than 300,000.

One would like to know just where the SDP-joiners have come from. I was informed by a party spokesman that no breakdown has been attempted, but his educated guess is that slightly more than half had quit the Labour Party. The others had come over from the Tories, or from the Liberals, or had previously belonged to no party.

The center may hold.

Three things have happened recently to make the SDP a serious proposition. One was the Warrington by-election on July 16, in which Roy Jenkins polled a startling 42 percent of the vote and ran the Labour victor to a close finish. If this can be done in what everyone regarded as a solid Labour fortress, anything could happen anywhere.

It must be borne in mind that MPs, like anyone else, weigh up their career prospects. In March a Labour MP—even if his beliefs were akin to those of the SDP—could see little attraction in a leap that could put him out of Parliament at the next election. After Warrington, he may calculate that the SDP ticket offers a reasonable chance, conceivably his best chance, of winning.

Second, an alliance between the SDP and the Liberal Party seems to be a sure bet. The prizes are easy to discern. The British electoral system penalizes minority parties. Thus, in 1974 (their best year) the Liberals got 19 percent of the votes but elected only 14 MPs in a House of 630. Only when a party's national tally passes 25 percent do dividends in terms of seats begin to accrue. Opinion polls give an SDP-Liberal alliance 30 percent, perhaps 40 percent. Together, they could enter the next Parliament in considerable strength, and even stand a chance—on a three-way split with Labour and Tories—of coming out on top and forming a government.

There has been friction between the potential partners, and there will be more. It would be suicidal for them to oppose each other, so they need to work out ways for the SDP to contest about 300 seats and the Liberals (who in recent years have run almost everywhere) about 300 others. With the decentralized structure of the Liberal Party, this won't be easy.

The SDP made a strong bid, supported by Liberal leader David Steel, to grab the candidacy in the forthcoming by-election at Croydon, but local Liberals insisted on putting forward the popular local man who

has fought for the seat three times and got their way. Nevertheless, Steel appears set to get the general strategy of the alliance accepted by his party conference this autumn.

The third development has been the massive unpopularity of the Thatcher government. At Warrington, most of Jenkins' votes came from the Tory camp, and in Croydon the battle (between Liberal and Labour) will be for disillusioned Tories. Already one Tory MP has joined the SDP, followed by a group of prominent figures in the Young Conservative organization. There could be more desertions if Thatcherism really goes on the skids.

An interesting thing happened to James Wellbeloved, a Labour MP who went over to the SDP later than the others. While he was hovering on the brink, Michael Foot asked to see him and pleaded with him to stay in the Labour Party. That was natural. But then Margaret Thatcher asked to see him and also pleaded with him to stay in the Labour Party.

Thus, the SDP, which started out as the right wing of the Labour Party, is in the process of becoming something else—a center party with a good deal of ex-Tory support. Its planners envisaged it as the moderately progressive alternative to Toryism, but it may emerge as the pro-capitalist alternative to socialism. Only Britain has what's frankly called a Conservative Party; in Europe the anti-socialist forces rally under some such label as Christian-Democrat. In Portugal, indeed, the party that fills this role is the Social-Democratic Party. On the notice-board of SDP headquarters in London, I saw a telegram from that party's leaders saying, "Congratulations on Warrington, best wishes for Croydon."

A party without a policy.

The uncertainties are increased by the persisting vagueness about what exactly SDP policy is. All we've got so far is a leaflet filled with phrases like "imaginative generosity which marches alongside farsighted self-interest." The party is to hold three gatherings this autumn in London, Bradford and Perth, but they will in reality be morale-boosting rallies open to all members or supporters; no resolutions will be presented and no votes taken. Much more curiously, I'm told that it hasn't yet been decided whether to hold a conference in the customary sense, in 1982.

Policy is made, so far as it's made at all, by the steering committee. This consists of the four big names, some of the MPs (but not all) and several other people who were invited. True, these are early days, but it's a distinctly aristocratic procedure considering that the SDP regularly attacks the older parties for their undemocratic habits.

Meanwhile, much depends on events within the Labour Party. Should the national executive committee retain its left-wing coloration after the 1981 conference—and especially should Tony Benn win the contest for deputy leader—more Labour MPs will find themselves better suited to the SDP. It will also be easier for the prejudiced media to depict Labour as irrevocably captured by wild-eyed extremists, with obvious effects on future electoral patterns. SDP-ers aren't saying much, but are waiting gleefully.

Former In These Times correspondent Mervyn Jones writes for the New Statesman.

Please, stop!

We are still receiving summer gift subs, but our computer is now programmed for Christmas gift subs and doesn't know what to do with the summer kind. We've received 2,352 summer gift subs, for which thanks.

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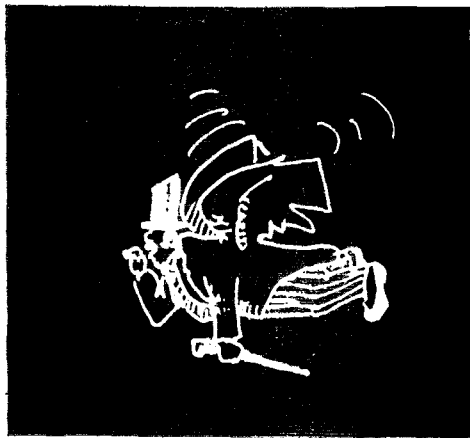
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U.S. business isn't buying it



By David Moberg

WHILE HE WAS ON THE campaign trail, and even for the first few months in office, it was easy for Ronald Reagan to turn on the actor's smile, bob his head, wink at the audience and—with a bit of "aw shucks" humility and a drumroll of American can-do patriotic fervor—convince a fair number of people that he could simultaneously drastically cut taxes, massively increase military spending, balance the budget, protect vital social programs (while, of course, only trimming waste) and bring down both inflation and unemployment.

He won over a lot of skeptics, including his vice president, who had earlier labeled Reagan's plans "voodoo economics." Increasingly, however, even Reagan's big business buddies are beginning to share some of George Bush's original assessment.

Not that they are openly turning on Reagan: How could they attack a president who just gave them tens of billions in tax relief and promises to curb virtually all controls on corporate activity from polluting the air to gobbling up other businesses in a boom of corporate concentration?

But when it comes to putting down their dollars, major investors and corporate executives demonstrate that they simply do not believe that the president's plan is working. One dramatic signal came late in August when the stock market abruptly plummeted to the lowest level in over a year.

"I would say that everyone is finally coming to the realization that everything he's doing is really a joke," one West Coast stockbroker said. "The whole supply-side theory doesn't work if you've got tight money. As facts come more to light and the reality of the whole situation sinks in, people in control of most of the money, in the institutions, have been saying it's a sham."

Contradictory effects.

Reagan managed to scotch-tape together a number of classic conservative economic solutions—budget cuts, tax cuts for the rich, regulation rollbacks and tight money—and tack on the "supply-side" label, economist Gar Alperovitz says: "The program was always absurd economically, but brilliant politically."

Now some contradictions in the plan are emerging. As economists of many stripes point out, the supposed stimulus to expansion from the tax cuts conflicts with the restrictive effects of high interest rates that discourage borrowing for expansion.

"The government has to make a decision," argues Brad Yencoka, an associate of Drexel Burnham Lambert, the Wall Street stockbrokers. "If it wants the expansionary route, it should have a large deficit and a Federal Reserve policy that is substantially easier. If it wants to bring down inflation, it should try to bring down the deficit. This way you don't get either; you hurt both. You'll push up inflation and not pull the economy out of this recession. Institutional

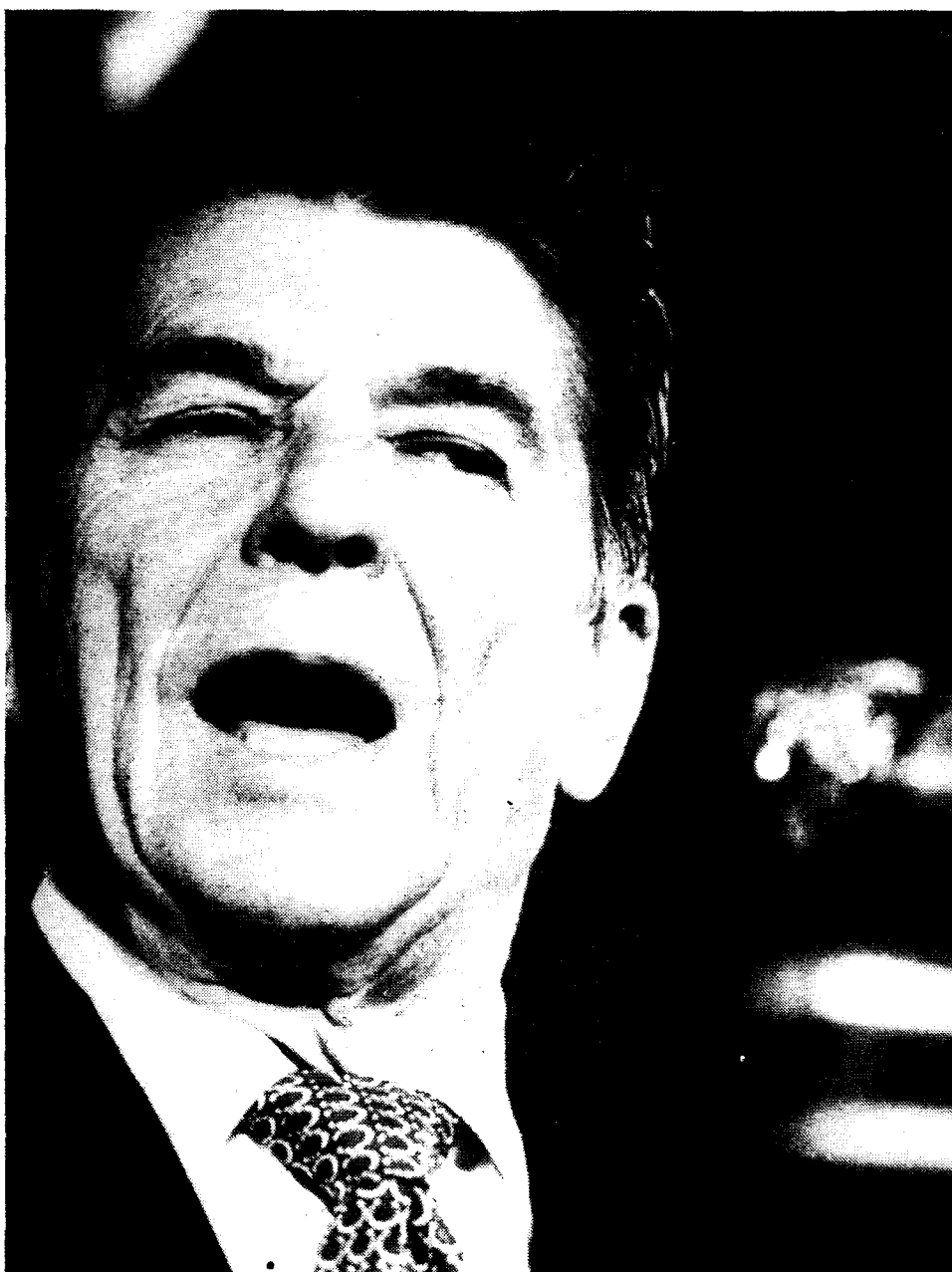
investors would rather see a coherent and consistent policy—expansionary or restrictive. Inconsistency introduces uncertainty into capital markets and makes it more difficult to make a capital decision."

Even if the high interest rates did not make Treasury notes and money market funds more attractive than stocks, there are other influences undermining real capital investment. Industrial facilities are only being utilized at slightly less than 80 percent of capacity, discouraging new investment. Since last January the general indicators of economic activity, including corporate profits, have been slipping, and many forecasters expect recovery to be slow in coming, possibly with a muddled recession well into next year. (The American economy continues to perform unevenly among regions and industries, so that some sections of the country are flourishing while others wallow in misery.) Small businesses in particular are hurting: business failures are up 42 percent from a year ago to a level above that of the severe 1975 recession. And initial unemploy-

ment claims jumped 14 percent in August.

High interest rates only partly reflect the continuing determination of the Federal Reserve to restrain monetary growth. Inflationary expectations also have an influence. Though budget deficits in themselves contribute only slightly to inflation, big investors see such deficits as a sign that government policy is out of control. Psychology—investor confidence and the hunches that guide corporate planners—plays an important role. Just as Reagan's policies have not yet inspired business to make grand plans for capital expansion in most cases, they have also not convinced investors that inflation will greatly diminish, despite the lucky breaks that the Reagan administration is getting on some fronts, particularly with stabilized prices for oil. (Nevertheless, the Consumer Price Index rose in July to an annual rate of 15 percent.) Many economists are convinced not only that the Federal Reserve has less influ-

If—as Reagan's advisors avidly profess—the market is always right, then the administration must be wrong.



Steve Kagan

economy in the past decade manifested themselves. Fundamentally, there were greater demands being placed on the economy than it was able to deliver, partly because of the investment strategies of many corporations that bled basic industries and avoided significant innovation. The stagflation of the '70s was also a reflection of the growth in corporate control over prices.

Reagan, like his predecessors, confronts this new stagflation paradox. Until the causes of inflation are dealt with more directly, there is little hope for a dramatic drop in interest rates. But without a drop in interest rates, economic revival, a key to containing inflation, cannot occur.

"The only thing that's going to rally the stock market is compelling news in the battle on inflation," Harvey Rosenblum, vice president of the Chicago Federal Reserve Bank says. "Until inflation goes down, it's going to be hard for interest rates to go down."

The stock market drop was politically very serious for Reagan for two reasons. First, his administration avidly professes the belief that the market is always right. If so, the administration must be wrong. Second, supply-side theory and Reagan policies have always relied heavily on altering capitalist psychology. "From that standpoint, the Reagan policies have failed," economist Robert Lekachman says. "They were supposed to have their greatest effect on expectations among investors, but support [for Reagan policies] is higher now among the general public than among investors."

Winning back the investors.

To win back the investors, the Reagan administration is now trying to figure out how it can reach its original goal of a mere \$42.5 billion deficit for the next fiscal year, especially when nearly all forecasts but their own put the deficit \$20 billion or more above that. The military has been targeted, but with actual outlays for fiscal year 1982 only about \$4.4 billion above Carter's already high proposals, the Reagan budget cutters will have a hard time reducing the deficit, even if they can affect future deficits some by trimming back authorizations for coming years.

It will be difficult for the Reagan team to reverse completely their commitment to expand military spending by 7 percent a year above inflation—a figure pulled out of the hat to "beat" the Soviet Union in spending but with no direct relation to real needs. But some cutbacks in the military will make it politically easier to come back to Congress with proposals for even more drastic non-military budget cuts, including deep slashes into Social Security, the one piece of "raw meat" big enough to satisfy the lions of Wall Street demanding a balanced budget. By locking the country into the tax cut, the Reagan administration has created the fiscal crisis that can be used as the battering ram against remaining human resource programs.

Cutting back Social Security, however, would directly dampen consumer demand and discourage business expansion. Also, keeping the military funded at growing levels "loots the means of production," as Columbia professor Seymour Melman argues, by diverting capital away from basic industries and economic infrastructure, thus exacerbating the causes of American economic decline and stagflation.

Can Reagan escape the bind he's in? An easy Federal Reserve monetary policy would give a boost to the deeply depressed housing industry and a bit to auto, as well as provide short-term stimulus, but inflationary expectations would begin to drive interest rates back up. Or Reagan could quickly negotiate an arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union and then cut the military budget while still claiming superiority. But there is little indication that anyone with influence in the administration is in favor of either easy money or serious arms limitation talks.

More likely, Alperovitz suggests, "he'll just muddle along and get deeper into the soup," and then begin to find scapegoats. The likely victim is labor, as Reagan has demonstrated in his handling of the air controllers' strike and his proposed 4.8 percent pay increase for federal civilian employees (compared to 14.3 percent for military employees), despite guidelines under the 1970 pay comparability act that call for a 15.1 percent increase.

Will Reagan's presumptive opposition among the Democrats begin to do anything? "The interesting fight over the next year," Alperovitz says, "will be between Democrats and moderates who don't want to come up with new ideas but just wait for disillusionment with Reagan to win and those who see this as an opportunity to come up with something new."

IN SHORT

NIPSCO nixes nuke

There's a big hole in the Indiana Dunes, about 30 miles south of Chicago. The product of 11 years' work and a \$205-million investment, the hole was meant to house the Northern Indiana Public Service Company's Bailly nuclear power plant. But late in August, NIPSCO chairman Edmund A. Schroer announced that the mounting costs and repeated delays of the Bailly project were "simply not bearable." The utility's initial cost estimate for the plant in 1970, \$187 million, had risen ten-fold to \$1.8 billion. And the target date for completion had been extended from 1976 to 1989.

The scrapping of Bailly followed years of protests from steelworkers (more than 20 percent of the country's steel is produced within 30 miles of the plant), environmentalists, public officials in Indiana and Illinois, local citizens and the Chicago-based Business and Professional People for the Public Interest. Also among Bailly's critics was the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, which had objected to the way NIPSCO's engineers planned to solve the problem of building a nuclear power plant on a foundation of sand.

Personnel fission

The NRC has proposed fining Illinois' Commonwealth Edison utility \$80,000 for two incidents in which workers were exposed to excessive radiation earlier this year. Both cases involved tradesmen doing maintenance work at the Dresden nuclear reactor 50 miles southwest of Chicago. In the more severe case, a 40-year-old millwright was exposed to about 22 rems of radiation on March 5. (The NRC's limit for workers at nuclear plants is 3 rems every three months.) While an Edison spokesman blamed the incident on equipment failure, some of the risks of exposure at Dresden derive from a deep rift between unionized radiation control technicians (RCTs) and the non-union engineers in management, known as health physicists (HPs) (*In These Times*, April 15). Last year, an NRC report cited union-management tensions as the major problem with the plant's health physics program, concluding that "instead of mutually beneficial cooperation between plant-wise RCTs and professionally trained HPs to build a strong, aggressive and up-to-date program, there exists mutual antagonism and lack of respect."

Death and taxes

The Zodiac News Service reports that the Reagan administration hopes to give Americans a rosier picture about their chances for survival following a nuclear war. For that purpose, the federal Emergency Management Agency is planning to supplement its three-year-old movie on surviving a nuclear attack with a second, more upbeat film. The 1978 flick, *Protection in the Nuclear Age* (not about contraception in the suburbs, as some might have supposed), warned of the effects of radiation and recommended the establishment of fallout shelters and the stockpiling of light-colored clothing as protective measures. The new film, tentatively titled *Crisis Relocation Planning*, stresses the safe evacuation of stricken areas following major disasters, atomic war among them. "It's a more positive picture," insisted the agency's producer, Michael Smith. "It wants to say that all is not gloom and doom."

What the Internal Revenue Service wants to say is that it will begin collecting taxes again immediately after a nuclear war, rendering tax shelters practically useless. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* reports that the IRS recently notified its employees of specific contingency plans "in the event of a national emergency, including a nuclear attack."

The organic view

Writing in the Sept. 24 issue of the *New York Review of Books*, Lewis Thomas, author of *The Lives of a Cell* and *The Medusa and the Snail*, puts the nuclear-survival matter in some perspective: "Words like disaster and catastrophe are too frivolous for the events that would inevitably follow a war with thermonuclear weapons. Damage is not the real term; the language has no word for it. Some people might survive, but survival is itself the wrong word. As to the thought processes of the people in high perches of government who believe that they can hide themselves underground somewhere (they probably can) and emerge later on to take over again the running of society (they cannot, in the death of society), or, more ludicrous, the underground headquarters already installed in the mountains for corporate executives who plan to come deranged out of their tunnels to reorganize the telephone lines or see to the oil business, these people cannot have thought at all."

—Josh Kornbluth



Direct-mail wizard Richard Viguerie boasts that the right is years ahead of liberals in its use of sophisticated communication techniques.

UAW wants a piece of the new communications pie

The UAW is tired of just reacting to media insults to and ignorance of labor issues. The initiatives it is taking, moreover, may have effects far beyond organized labor.

"We're always fighting these rearward actions," said David Mitchell of the UAW's communications department after one frustrating Washington battle over deregulation of communications. "We want to be involved in setting the terms for the next media debate."

So the UAW has been paying close attention—just like the delegates told it to in a 1980 convention resolution—to developments in communications technology. Accordingly, the UAW, along with such corporate applicants as Sears and NBC, applied to the FCC for multiple low-power TV licenses. The low-power stations could become video newsletters for community groups and unions just as much as they could become Sears video catalogs. (The FCC is rumored to be deciding, finally, how to issue those licenses; swamped with applications, it has delayed taking action for months.)

Among the hottest developments in communications is direct-broadcast satellite service. Satellites, of course, aren't new; but small and cheap (say, \$150) satellite-signal receivers for your own rooftop, only a few years away, would change their use. The FCC is now taking applications for licenses of satellites intended for direct broadcast.

The UAW wants such satellites to be common carriers—transmitters of information, selling space for reasonable rates on a first-come, first-serve basis. Further, it wants some of the satellite's capacity re-

served for nonprofit use. And that's what the union told the FCC in a proposal filed by the Media Access Project. "The public's right to transmit and receive information should not be made to depend solely on middlemen, particularly in a system characterized by the absence of localism and institutionalized community contacts," the proposal states.

The UAW also talked with one of the corporations filing for a license, the DBS Corporation. That company then proposed that it would allot 10 percent of its capacity for nonprofit corporations to use, at a charge of 15 percent less than the going rate. Since direct broadcast service promises to be dramatically cheaper than current broadcasting, this puts access to national TV time within the range of many nonprofit groups.

Why is the UAW spending time and energy on projects that reach so far beyond the immediate interests of union members? Ray Majerus, UAW secretary-treasurer, thinks long-range planning is crucial. He hasn't forgotten the day after Reagan was elected. Richard Viguerie, the right's direct-mail wizard, and Terry Dolan of the National Conservative Political Action Committee boasted that progressives were eight to 10 years behind them in sophisticated use of communications.

"We've got to catch up and pass them," Majerus said.

A key strategy is involvement in policy-making, said Mitchell. "If we don't participate in creating a regulatory framework, we'll be frozen out again."

—Pat Aufderheide

This little piggie went to market

NAIROBI, KENYA—While third world countries talked about fuel wood and muscle power, the U.S. approached the mid-August UN Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy (UNCNRSE) in Nairobi with the message that the solution to the world energy crisis lies in "the long-term reliance on open energy markets in which ingenuity and enterprise can flourish."

These songs of praise for the free-market system—sung by President Reagan's "special representative" Stanton Anderson—raised a howl of protest from some Americans attending UNCNRSE, including two congressional advisors to the U.S. delegation and representatives of several non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

Rep. Richard Ottinger (D-N.Y.), who along with Rep. Berkley Bedell (D-Iowa) served as an advisor to the U.S. delegation, blasted the American position on free-enterprise solutions. "The marketplace," said Ottinger, "cannot be relied on entirely to make the right decisions to meet immediate global needs for the transition to a new energy future."

While the proposed plan of action debated by the official delegates in Nairobi called for increased bilateral and multilateral assistance for energy projects, the U.S. stood alone in its insistence that a "debilitating collection of subsidized and uneconomic new and renewable energy projects" would not solve the energy problems of developing countries.

Meeting in a separate forum, the U.S. NGO Caucus—self-described as a "broad coalition of business, energy and environmental, research and religious organizations"—maintained that while market forces may be aiding energy development in some areas, "more than half the world's people...live outside the market economy."

In addition, the Reagan administration's "rhetorical support for free enterprise" is fraught with inconsistencies, the U.S. NGO Caucus charged, pointing to "cuts in small business and export promotion programs [that] are pulling the rug out from under more than 5,000 renewable energy businesses in the U.S." Such adherence to free-market principles, the NGO Caucus pointed out, is contradicted by increased subsidies for nuclear power and synfuels, "technologies now being rejected by the market." As a result, "selective reliance on the market" stacks the deck against nascent renewable energy technologies that must compete against heavily subsidized conventional energy sources.

In keeping with the Reagan administration's pro-corporate energy policies, the U.S. delegation opposed the recommendation of a UNCNRSE ad hoc group that all countries in a position to do so should increase bilateral and multilateral aid. The U.S. also opposed the creation of an energy affiliate within the World Bank, as well as any new international bureaucracies that might be created to finance new energy projects in developing countries. Such proposals, presumably, would cast a shadow on the sunny business climate the Reagan administration would apparently like to promote.

—Margot E. Beutler

IN THE NATION

EQUAL RIGHTS

Contractors make it tough for women

By Walter Ruby

NEW YORK

ON A TYPICALLY SWeltering August day, Star Robinson, a 23-year-old black woman from Harlem, appeared before TV, radio and newspaper reporters in Times Square. "Breaking into construction has proved even harder than I thought it would be," she told the press. "It's been almost two years since I began apprenticing as a laborer, and I'm so broke now that the telephone company is about to cut off my service. I'm a lot of women laborers, I've only been able to get work on independent building sites for a few days, and they pay you off to keep you from getting into the union."

Star is a member of the United Trades Women (UTW), which called the demonstration to demand more construction jobs for women and to protest blatantly discriminatory hiring practices at one of the largest construction sites in the city—the \$375-million convention center. She spoke from experience: Star was one of two black women fired from the site after several days of work for Ferran Concrete Co., a major contractor on the project. Company owner Al Ferran told Star there was no more work—though construction is just beginning; but he told the press that women did not belong in construction. The two firings left one white woman at Ferran, the only woman among some 150 workers now at the site.

Later that afternoon, despite assurances that she would be rehired by week's end from the New York State Urban Development Corporation (which is charged with oversight of the project), Star went down to a local McDonalds to apply for a job. "I've heard these kinds of promises before," she explained, "and I'm too broke to wait any longer. I can't even get unemployment because all my jobs have been short term."

Al Ferran did bow to UDC pressure



The August demonstration at the UDC was the first time women have publicly demanded building jobs.

As another woman at the Times Square demonstration (who asked not to be identified for fear of losing her job) explained: "Ferran's attitudes are typical. But the contractors are only the beginning of the problem. The unions, too—with a few exceptions—have resisted accepting women members, and without union membership it is very hard to get steady work. As for the regulatory agencies—the City Department of Employment, the UDC, and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP)—they have really dragged their feet."

In fact, the OFCCP has been sued by

ing changes in these guidelines that would exempt about 50 percent of the contractors presently required to have a plan for meeting these affirmative action goals.)

Complaints, then action.

No federal monies are involved at the convention center, where several thousand workers will be hired over the next year as preliminary work ends and construction enters its main stage. So the DOL guidelines do not apply. Lois Ross, a UTW organizer, says, "At least 35 women have applied for jobs at the convention center, only to be told that they were not hiring women, or that the work was too hard for women. For months we complained to the Urban Development Corporation (UDC), which is supposed to monitor hiring practices at the site, and filed sex and race discrimination complaints with the New York State Division of Human Rights. More than 50 percent of women trades workers in New York are black and Hispanic, and there is a clear pattern of white women being hired and accepted into unions before minority women. Finally, after two black women (and UTW members), Robinson and Gwen Lee, were unfairly fired by Ferran—and the UDC, while admitting the injustice, refused to guarantee that they would be rehired—we decided to take direct action."

A demonstration scheduled for Aug. 5—the first time in anyone's memory that women had gone public to demand jobs in the construction field. And the landmark protest quickly proved that direct action can have a real effect, even at a time when the commitment to equality for blacks and women seems to be weakening.

The original target of the rally was the UDC, which, according to the UTW, "spent \$100,000 on big-shot lawyers to 'ensure' equal employment opportunity, all to the effect that only one woman was working at the convention center." The UTW was demanding that 7 percent of the workers at the site in all trades be women (without firing any men), that at least half the women hired be minorities and that the two women fired by Ferran be rehired on the site.

But two days before the demonstration, the UDC, leery of bad publicity, agreed to the second two points, and, in the words of UDC spokesman Bob Rafsky, pledged "to make a special effort over the next months, as contractors began hiring many more workers, to ensure that the number of women employed on the convention center site will rise in a significant way." Rafsky pointed out that New York State affirmative-action guidelines apply only to blacks and not to women, so the UDC cannot enforce a particular percentage of women on the site. The UDC, he added, has drafted legislation to rectify this, and hopes to get it passed in the New York legislature in the coming months.

While the UDC failed to specify how many new women workers at the convention center it would deem "significant," UTW leader Ross decided to give the agency the benefit of the doubt and shifted the focus of demonstration to a more general demand for stronger affirmative action on the city, state, and federal levels. Nevertheless, Ross was happy with the agreement and the outcome of the demonstration. "We felt this action was a big step forward for women in the trades. We got the two women rehired—something UDC had been insisting it could not arrange—and that gave us a sense of our own power." Another invaluable benefit, Ross maintained, was the media coverage of the event, and the statements of support from politicians such as mayoral candidate Frank Barabaro, who blasted Mayor Koch for "talking big and doing nothing about affirmative action."

A hard road.

Still, the problems that face women in the trades appear as daunting as ever. Both unions and contractors continue to set complex obstacles in the way of women apprentices, regulatory agencies have been reluctant to enforce even the relatively toothless guidelines that exist and the Reagan administration has launched a fierce campaign to turn back the clock

on affirmative action. Women who have made it into construction jobs continue to face crude sexual harassment and occasional physical violence from male co-workers, and foremen sometimes place them in dangerous job situations in order to scare them off the site.

But groups like UTW are growing across the country in places as diverse as Pittsburgh, Albuquerque, and Seattle, and discussions are underway to link these groups into a national organization. Explains Consuela Reyes, a carpenter and UTW leader, who among other pioneering efforts was the first woman carpenter to work on a New York City subway construction project, "Most of the women who go into blue-collar occupations do so not from an ideological commitment to feminism, but for bread and butter reasons—these jobs pay damn well. Try supporting yourself and a few children on the salary from a clerical job." Reyes believes that the boom in construction, (72 office buildings are slated for construction in New York over the next few years), and the scarcity of good jobs in other areas, will bring more and more women into the field. "Women are not going to roll over and play dead," she says. "We are going to fight and give them hell."



Gwen Lee is a member of United Trades Women.

Together they can get some results

United Trades Women (UTW) defines itself as a "support/action" group of women working in blue-collar trade jobs in the New York area. Founded a year and a half ago, it now involves some 300 women—a high percentage of the women actively pursuing work in the New York building trades. UTW helps women get and keep construction jobs by providing them with emotional support and job-related information, by organizing women's caucuses in the unions and by pressing for effective enforcement of affirmative action and anti-discrimination laws.

UTW works closely with Nontraditional Employment for Women (NEW), a CETA-funded, city-sponsored program that offers counseling and assertiveness training and helps women get into training programs. But because of its funding source, NEW cannot take direct action on behalf of clients who encounter discrimination—a limitation that UTW, which gets by on donations and membership dues, does not have to contend with.

Another CETA-funded New York group, Allcraft, is basically a training program that offers skills courses for women entering the trades. Allcraft also joined the state attorney general as a co-plaintiff in a lawsuit against the local arm of the federal affirmative action enforcement bureaucracy.

—Walter Ruby



Gwen Lee (left) and Star Robinson, laid off by Ferran Concrete Co. after just a few days of work, were rehired under pressure.

and rehire Star within a few days. (The other fired woman, Gwen Lee, was taken on by another contractor.) But there's no guarantee that the job will last any longer than Star's last stint in June, when she was laid off after six days. "I'm making no commitment to keep her," Ferran insisted to reporters, repeating an earlier contention that, "The reason I laid off both these women is that they weren't doing a man's job."

the New York Attorney General's office for failure to take action against contractors in the New York area. The suit charges that the agency has ignored the 1978 Department of Labor affirmative action guidelines which stipulate that on any construction site with more than 50 workers and \$50,000 in federally-assisted contracts, a minimum of 6.9 percent of the workforce should be women. (The Reagan administration is now consider-

CIVIL RIGHTS

Police brutality divides Milwaukee

By Joan Walsh

MILWAUKEE

MYRTLE LACY KNOWS A lot about the death of her 22-year-old son, Ernest, in police custody last month. But the increasingly bitter Mrs. Lacy has waited in vain for an answer to her most important question—whether city officials plan to prosecute the police officers eyewitnesses say were responsible for the young black's death.

Mrs. Lacy knows, for instance, that Milwaukee police officers James Dekker, Thomas Eliopul and George Kalt detained her son the night of July 9 in connection with a rape that, it was later discovered, he did not commit. She knows, from witnesses who testified at a public hearing, that one of the officers knelt on Ernest's upper back, holding his arms straight up from his shoulder blades, for 10 minutes, waiting for a paddywagon to arrive. And from the medical examiner's report, Mrs. Lacy learned her son died of a "lack of oxygen to the brain," caused by an "inability to breathe."

The medical examiner acknowledged that the three arresting officers' behavior that night was a "contribution" to Lacy's death, but the city has made no official judgment. An inquest into Lacy's death finally got under way last week, assisted by the state Attorney General's office, but the Lacy family and its supporters in Milwaukee's black community are not hopeful about the prospect of criminal charges against Dekker, Eliopul or Kalt as a result of the inquest.

"There have been inquests like this before," said Marquette University Professor Howard Fuller, who heads the Committee for Justice for Ernest Lacy, a coalition of urban groups that has taken to the streets repeatedly with its demands that the three officers be prosecuted. "They bury the charges in a whole conglomeration of witnesses, then they say the evidence is inconclusive," Fuller said.

The Lacy case has deepened the black community's longstanding distrust of the Milwaukee Police Department. Ernest Lacy was born in 1958, the year Milwaukee Police officer Thomas Grady shot and killed Daniel Bell, black like Lacy, guilty of no crime and also 22. Bell's death became a symbol of police brutality toward minorities in this racially separated city. And though more than two decades and numerous other police killings came between the Bell and Lacy deaths, for many blacks here the two men's deaths are linked. There were 21 years of officially sanctioned police coverups before the truth about Bell's death came out in 1979, and Lacy's family and friends fear they too face years of stonewalling.

The Bell and Lacy cases differ, though—this time eyewitnesses have come forward with similar accounts of the events leading to Lacy's death, and police officers involved have refuted little of their testimony.

The timing of death.

Lacy had spent the evening painting an apartment with his cousin and business partner, Jeff Garland. Though he had suffered from psychological problems for a long time—his condition was diagnosed as chronic paranoid schizophrenia—through the summer his illness had been in remission, according to his doctor and members of his family. Lacy left Garland at about 10:30 and headed to the Open Pantry Market at 23rd Street and Wisconsin Avenue for a sandwich.

Meanwhile officers Dekker, Eliopul and Kalt had received word of a rape in that vicinity and headed over. The three might not have been on the streets at all that night. They were scheduled to appear before the Fire and Police Commission, charged with using excessive force



Myrtle Lacy (dark shirt) leads the third march to demand justice for Ernest Lacy.

The officers who arrested Lacy faced charges of using excessive force in an earlier incident. They were on the street only because that case had been postponed.

in an incident earlier that year. But their lawyer had managed to postpone the hearing, and so it was that they came to meet Lacy on Wisconsin Avenue.

They stopped him, told him that they wanted to talk to him, and Lacy started "to bolt," one of the officers testified later. At that point, witnesses say, the three wrestled him to the sidewalk, and one of the officers gave Lacy the standard knee to the groin. Lacy was heard to tell the police he was under a psychiatrist's care, then to say repeatedly, "I give." But the officers continued to hold him, one on each leg while the third "had his knee on the suspect's neck, his hands were up behind his back, practically perpendicular to the street," according to a Marquette University student who witnessed the incident.

The police held that pose for 10 minutes. Onlookers say that after several minutes, they saw Lacy's body shudder once convulsively, then lie perfectly still, until he was dragged to the van. Later, one doctor speculated that this may have been Lacy's "death convulsion."

But exactly when he died, and thus exactly how, remains a matter of debate. Some witnesses at the scene say he was dead when the police put him in the van, which the three officers deny. But Tyrone Brown, picked up in the same police van for minor sheriff's warrants just after Lacy, says he knew Lacy was dead as soon as he saw him lying face down, hands cuffed behind his back. "I told the police officer the man wasn't breathing... the guy was beat up pretty bad," Brown recalled.

Community reaction to Lacy's death was swift. Within 24 hours the family's attorney, Alan Eisenberg, requested an immediate inquest. Community leaders expressed shock and outrage. But demands for the suspension of the three officers were ignored by Milwaukee Police Chief Harold Breier, who said a special department investigation the week following the incident had cleared the three men. Days later, however, the Fire and Police Commission suspended the officers, with pay, pending the completion of a full investigation.

Tired of waiting.

For the Lacy family and its supporters, that full investigation, just now under way, was a long time coming. Attorney Eisenberg and others say the District Attorney "has more than enough hard evidence to bring charges" against the officers.

Prosecutors find such community impatience frustrating. Michael Malmstadt, a deputy district attorney assigned to the case, believes that the inquest into Lacy's death, for which 90 witnesses have been subpoenaed, has proceeded faster than most. He sympathizes with the Lacy family, though. "It's understandable, their frustration. A person is dead and there's no answer why. One day is a long time. But the legal process never moves with blinding speed."

To blacks, the process of justice seems to move especially slowly when it involves Chief Breier, given a lifetime appointment by Mayor Henry Maier. Though blacks make up one-tenth the city's population, there are no black officers in supervisory positions in Milwaukee, because, Breier has said, he has found none who are qualified.

The black community's frustration has escalated to anger in the Lacy case, anger expressed in almost weekly demonstrations drawing thousands of people. Ironically, just after Lacy's death, a jury found a Milwaukee police officer innocent of wrongdoing in the shooting death of 18-year-old Clifford McKissick during the racial disturbances that shook the city in 1967.

Not since those riots has racial tension

Continued on page 8

PRISONS

Few changes at New Mexico prison

By Peter Katel

SANTA FE, N. M.

BEFORE THE FEBRUARY 1980 uprising at the Penitentiary of New Mexico, in which 33 prisoners were killed by fellow inmates, there had been no shortage of warnings that an explosion of rage was imminent at the institution. Warnings persist in the aftermath—and so does murder.

Since the uprising, six prisoners and two guards have been killed, in most cases by stabbing. As recently as late last month, a prisoner was stabbed to death in the recreation yard and a guard, held hostage during an unsuccessful escape, was killed. In December 1980, a prisoner died of a drug overdose in what the Santa Fe district attorney called suspicious circumstances. And there have been numerous non-fatal stabbings.

Following a takeover notable for its horror—some prisoners were killed by blowtorch, one was decapitated with a

The Attica Correctional Facility, the site of a riot 10 years ago that was terminated by police gunfire, remains a symbol of the failure of the U.S. prison system. See p. 17.

shovel—the continuing violence strengthens the hand of politicians who want to solve prison problems by building more prisons.

"It makes the point that prisoners are different," said Mara Taub of the Coalition for Prisoners' Rights, a small prison-

er advocacy organization. Taub contended that, because the violence reinforces public hostility to prisoners, it is not in the prison administration's interest to stop it.

Official reports on the penitentiary be-

Continued on page 8

The February 1980 riots left 33 dead.



IN THE WORLD

EL SALVADOR

The lines are drawn in mountain areas

By David Helvarg

MORAZAN, EL SALVADOR

AFTER TWO MONTHS OF relative peace, the guerrillas of El Salvador's Farabundo Martí Liberation movement in mid-August launched a new series of attacks in the eastern third of the country.

The Departments of Morazan, Usulután, San Miguel and La Unión—divided from the rest of the country by the River Lempa—have had only sporadic water and power supplies since late July as a result of guerrilla sabotage. On Aug. 17 and 18 the capital of San Salvador and the nearby port of La Libertad were also without power after guerrilla bombs downed additional power lines.

Guerrillas have also been active in the northern department of Chalatenango, where they seized the town of San Francisco Morazan for several days last week. That town lies some five miles north of the army fort at El Paraíso where five U.S. Special Forces trainers are working. The U.S. military group in El Salvador is not supposed to operate in combat zones, but in a highly mobile guerrilla war it's often hard to define what is and is not a zone of combat. "We'll stick with what we've said before. We don't feel they're in any special danger where they are," explained U.S. Embassy spokesman Howard I. and.

The main fighting is taking place in the rugged northeastern mountains of Morazan, where guerrillas have occupied the towns of Perquin and Avarobala and, as of Aug. 21, had held them for more than a week despite attempts by the army's commando brigade to displace them.

British journalist Richard Lapper and I spent several days traveling through the eastern region. On our way in we had to take several detours to avoid bridges that had been recently bombed by the guerrillas. The army has placed heavy security on the Puente Ocotea and the Puente De Oro—the two large bridges that span the River Lempa along the Pan American highway and the Litoral, the main east-west road through the region.

The Litoral hooks up with the Pan American highway in San Miguel, a regional crossroads and the third-largest city in the country. From there we moved north along Route 7 into the foothills of Morazan. The bridge over the Rio Seco has been out since March, half of its iron span dropped down into the water.

"It's been constant fighting for six days," said Jose Espinoza, an off-duty soldier dressed in jeans and a straw cowboy hat. "The guerrillas have good assault rifles and even machine guns. They must also have a lot of ammunition the way they've been using it against us."

More than 1,000 refugees have taken up residence in a squatters camp behind the local medical clinic here. Light aircraft, French-built Lama helicopters and mobile artillery could be seen moving north, along with camouflaged C-47 transport planes that were apparently dropping off additional troops and supplies at a runway just outside the town.

None of the ten U.S.-supplied Huey helicopters were working the day we arrived. Several days later three were functioning, but the other seven were still grounded by a lack of spare parts. U.S. training of ground forces has not panned out much better, judging by Ambassador Hinton's recent disclosure that the Salvadoran security forces have suffered 1,300 casualties in the last six months.

Radio Venceremos, the rebel short-wave station that broadcasts from the mountains, reported the capture of more than 30 national guardsmen and militia in Perquin and offered to hand them over to the International Red Cross. A convoy of eight Red Cross vehicles arrived in Gotera on Sunday, Aug. 16, but was not allowed to proceed north. Soldiers prevented us from talking with the Red Cross officials.

The eastern port of La Unión was fairly peaceful when we arrived, despite a military state of alert. The Salvadoran mini-navy was closed for the weekend. Soldiers were guarding the town church, which they'd riddled with gunfire during a mysterious "battle" in June. After reports of three days of street fighting and heavy casualties, Radio Venceremos had put out a statement that none of its units had attacked the town in June and charged a conspiracy by the security forces to win additional U.S. aid. Local people say that most of the shooting was done by the army, and suspect that the incident started as a dispute between the army and the national guard. The three U.S. trainers who were trapped on the navy base at the time of the "fighting" would not make themselves available to us for comment.

On the way out of La Unión we saw a drunken off-duty army sergeant beating up another man whom he had down on the ground. A third man arrived to challenge him just as we pulled into a gas station. A moment later we looked back and saw the sergeant dead in the middle of the street, blood pouring out from the knife wound in his throat. A crowd gathered around. "Everyone's tense right now," the gas station attendant explained with a tentative smile.

When we trudged into a small village 10 miles short of Gotera just one hour before the 8 p.m. curfew, we were told by the owner of the local store, "The commandos are very nervous right now. They're sweeping through all the cantons, firing at anything that moves." He took us inside where most of the villagers gathered around to talk with us and offer us tortillas, coca-cola and a dry place by the adobe stove.

Throughout the night nervous soldiers fired off automatic bursts from their rifles. At one point sentries opened up on an incoming army patrol, and the armored personnel carrier from in front of the cuartel (fort) had moved into the street

"The people are changing," said the priest. "They show greater confidence in the guerrillas now."

before the confusion was straightened out. Five people have been killed in the town during curfew hours, including one woman who was asleep in a hammock inside her house when a military round came through the wall. One priest told us, "As the fighting escalates I worry more and more about the civilian casualties that will result as the army moves back into areas that the guerrillas have held. We really won't know what kind of casualties we're facing until this next round of fighting is over."

time to come."

As we were getting ready to go, one of the priest's parishioners came up to tell him a funny story. "I was riding in a bus just north of town when it had to stop because there was a young boy standing in the middle of the road playing with a yo-yo. 'What are you doing?' the bus driver shouted. 'Everybody out with your hands up,' the boy said. The *muchachos* were on either side of the road. So they gave us a search and let us pass. But wasn't that a great trick?" she asked smiling.

"The Frente's desperate. When they hold up buses, cut power lines, blow up bridges they're just turning the people against them," said U.S. Ambassador Deane R. Hinton in an interview on Aug. 19. "When someone can't make a phone call or cross a bridge they know who's to blame, the left. You guys are always reporting about bad things the army's doing but what about the thousands of *campesinos* who are fleeing from left-wing violence?"

"The political solution we look to is the popular elections scheduled to take place next March. If the one-time democratic elements in the left, the moderates in the FDR, want to end their alliance with the hard-core Marxist-Leninists and participate in free elections, all the better."

"But if Moscow and Havana keep upping their support for the guerrillas even though they clearly have no chance of winning, then we'll react. We're going to pull this one off."

"Clearly the United States has not been able to turn the situation around," responds a source in San Salvador close to the left. "The military is suffering heavy casualties—more than 10 percent of their fighting forces to date, according to U.S. figures. Their political initiative for elections has little or no support outside of the Christian Democratic Party. Government terror, which reached an all-time high with some 800 civilian deaths in July, is becoming counter-productive as the left is able to extend the areas in which it is able to offer the people some level of security. I'd look for a turning point to be reached sometime in the next year. Then consider the situation in the fall of '82: Reagan's economic policies will be having their effect in the United States, creating a popular opposition at home. A lot of politicians will be running for office in November of '82 and I just don't believe many of them will support an all-out rescue effort if this government should fall. I think they'd be afraid of how the public would react. I have a lot of faith in the decency of the American people. And total confidence in our revolution." ■

David Helvarg is on assignment for *In These Times* in Central America.



A Salvadoran woman in one of many refugee camps. (See page 16.)

Lacy

Continued from page 6

been so evident. But Chief Breier has done little to defuse the tension. At the most recent Justice for Ernest Lacy rally, 800 demonstrators—the smallest crowd yet—were met by a battalion of 150 riot-equipped police officers, some of them brandishing billy clubs. Even veterans of national and local protests were shocked at the exhibition of machismo. "It looks like Mississippi," remarked Justice Committee supporter James Groppi, the former Catholic priest who led many of Milwaukee's civil rights protests in the '60s.

The marchers' demands are not limited to justice for Ernest Lacy. McGee, Fuller and others say incidents like the Lacy case will continue until the Police Department is integrated and blacks serve in supervisory positions. And many others say problems will remain as long as Breier is chief.

Since McKissick's shooting in 1967, at least 11 blacks, including Lacy, have died at the hands of Milwaukee police. Some 257 police brutality complaints have been brought before the Fire and Police Commission since 1972. And currently, 50 lawsuits against the police department, most alleging brutality, are pending in Milwaukee courts. In none of these cases have the accused officers been disciplined by Breier.

Myrtle Lacy is doubtful her son's case will wind up differently. But attorney Eisenberg insists they will press his case in a civil-rights lawsuit against the city if criminal charges are not brought against the police.

"What did they have on him? They were looking for a man with long sideburns, in jeans and a shirt; he had short sideburns, he was wearing a denim vest and tan pants," Eisenberg continued. "Lacy got stopped that night just because he was black."

Joan Walsh, editor of the *Santa Barbara News and Review*, recently visited Milwaukee.

Prison

Continued from page 6

fore and after the uprising charged that the prison has been a model of poor administration, even by the official standards of the prison business.

Two weeks before the 1980 takeover, veteran California prison officials Raymond Procnier and Robert Borg—brought in as consultants—warned in their report on an 11-man escape in December 1979 that New Mexico was "playing Russian roulette with the lives of inmates, staff and the public."

In mid-May, a "compliance monitor" hired by the state to help it obey a federal court order that set standards for the conditions of penitentiary life found "severe and widespread" violations. The standards were set out in a 1980 court order issued by U.S. District Judge Santiago Campos that resulted from a 1977 class-action lawsuit by prisoners.

Among the conclusions and observations of monitor Dan Cron: only 33 prisoners were in vocational training programs; recreation periods were scheduled at times when prisoners were working or in academic classes; prisoners were placed in maximum security or full-time lock-up for such offenses as wearing tennis shoes; visiting hours for all prisoners were illegally curtailed; living conditions were abominable, with vermin infestation, broken plumbing and a serious outbreak of food-carried disease that was "just waiting to occur."

Cron's report corroborated an earlier one by temporary consultant Vincent Nathan, who warned that the state was asking for trouble by not keeping its promises after inmates had used legitimate channels—the lawsuit—to seek changes.

If the changes are not made, Nathan said, "the bitter disappointment and disillusionment that will follow can be predicted to trigger additional and continuing violence."

Nathan concluded that the "chief obstacle to compliance" was "lack of competency" by employees to design and carry out policies intended to meet the court-ordered standards. Many guards fear that the standards will threaten the already tenuous security of the prison. Taub, for one, fears that lower-level prison employees, angered by the court order, "are going to show that it doesn't work."

Irving Joyner of the American Civil Liberties Union's National Prison Project, which represents the inmates in the lawsuit, said in a telephone interview that though some of the deficiencies cited by Nathan have been corrected, serious problems remain. Asked if he believed that the prison administration is trying to protect prisoners' lives, Joyner said, "There are ways to minimize the risk of people running around with shanks [prison-made knives]. These ways are well known to seasoned administrators."

But Corrections Secretary Roger Crist has said repeatedly that he welcomes the court standards, which are nearly identical to the American Correctional Association standards that he helped formulate.

Though the Corrections Department has had little success in protecting prisoners' lives, it was most effective in convincing the state legislature to spend money on prisons. Meeting one year after the uprising, the legislature appropriated \$97 million for a prison building program that includes conversion of the penitentiary to twin prisons, construction of a new women's prison and an "intake and classification center" for new prisoners.

The building program has already begun to serve as a bureaucratic escape hatch. A veteran, high-ranking Corrections Department official has said matter-of-factly that the violence at the penitentiary might not lessen until prisoners are sent to brand-new institutions.

That would be cold comfort to prisoners now behind the walls of the 25-year-old penitentiary, located five miles from Santa Fe city limits. Their desperation has reached a level that may be incomprehensible to outsiders. Some prisoners evidently feel they have nothing to lose—according to uncontradicted official accounts, the accused killers of two murder victims did their deeds in plain view of guards.

The precise reasons for those and other acts of violence may never be known publicly. But some officials have said that prosecution investigations of the uprising are creating enormous tension, as prisoners worry about which other prisoners may be giving evidence against them.

Possible connections between prosecutions and prison violence have been explored in the press. But Dick Baker, then the Santa Fe deputy district attorney and chief prosecutor in prison uprising cases, said flatly at an April 1981 press conference that no state's witnesses were housed at the penitentiary. He indicated that he did not expect prisoners to believe him.

Peter Katel, who has covered the New Mexico Penitentiary since 1975 for several publications, is a freelance writer based in Santa Fe.

LAST YEAR
MY FRIENDS
COULDN'T
STOP
TALKING
ABOUT THE
PRESENTS
I GOT
THEM



THIS
CHRISTMAS
I HOPE
TO MAKE
IT UP
TO
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EASTERN EUROPE

Poland's reprieve will not last forever

By Paul Bernstein

SZCZECIN, POLAND

A FOUR FERRY FROM COPENHAGEN pulled into Swinoujscie, Poland's westernmost Baltic port, we passed within a few hundred yards of Soviet naval training ships, their hammer-and-sickle and red star insignias gleefully visible in the early morning sun. Skinny teenage sailors-in-training gathered on the ship's decks, seeking relief from August's stifling humidity below decks.

The port city, ringed by several tall, modern apartment buildings, seemed prosperous. When we disembarked, the dockworkers looked portly and jovial, if a bit sleepy at this still-early hour. Where was the food crisis?

In fact, where was the air of crisis at all? Everything seemed surprisingly normal on this languid Saturday morning. The taxi driver offering to take us to Szczecin wanted to be paid in Western currency rather than Polish *zlotys*—a common Eastern European proposal. In the streets of Szczecin itself, young

Behind closed doors in an adjoining room, Solidarity's officers were meeting together with "consultants" (professionals who do not hold membership in the union, because they don't work in factories, but who nevertheless spend day and night working for the renewal process in Poland). They were strategizing for Monday's meeting between Solidarity's national committee and the Polish government—talks that had broken off the previous week with some acrimony. Two issues dominated the discussion: the food crisis and the still-restricted media.

From the bottom up.

Solidarity is a decentralized organization. Each regional unit develops its own opinions and passes them on to the national coordinating council where a consensus is hammered out before any negotiations with the government. In this case, the national consensus within Solidarity had boiled down to seven demands:

1. that the government establish a special office to handle the food crisis;
2. that Solidarity participate in solving the food distribution problem;
3. that the pricing of food be subject to "social control" and food rationing ended;
4. that Solidarity be given air-time on the state-run TV and radio;
5. that censorship be taken out of the hands of the Party and put into the hands of parliament, that any further prosecutions for violating censorship not include fines or jail sentences and that trade union publications that circulate "internally" to members be immune from any censorship;
6. that a law be passed confirming the legal status of the independent trade unions (so far they exist only by government agreement);
7. that workers' council be allowed to form in all enterprises, with power to select the enterprise managers and to oversee policy.

Already Solidarity has taken its own actions to realize some of these goals. To reach the public without censorship it publishes not only the one-page releases called *Komunikat*, but also an eight-page bulletin circulated within the factories to all members. A worker in Solidarity's press office held up the latest copies of both the bulletin and a more public journal issued by Solidarity but subject to state censorship. A large white blotch showed where censors had done their work on the public journal. The bulletin carried, word-for-word, what the censors had cut up out of the other document.

In the area of workers' councils, too, Solidarity is not waiting for the government to take leadership. In 18 of the nation's largest enterprises such councils are being formed: Lot, the national airlines; Huta, the huge steelworks near Katowice; Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk (where the strikes began last year); Warski shipyards in Szczecin (where confrontations took place in 1970); Cegielski factory in Poznan (scene of the 1956 uprising). Most have gotten to the point of drafting by-laws. In Lot, an elected council has already selected its nominee for the post of company general manager, but the government insisted on filling that post regardless of the workers' wishes. The two sides compromised by having the workers' choice become vice-manager. Poles we talked to—both within Solidarity and outside it—were not too pleased by that settlement.

But Solidarity presses on. To whatever extent these workers' councils achieve real power, the government will be forced to cooperate with them, because it is dependent on these large enterprises to maintain the national economy.

What next?

Important as these achievements are, one wants to know what sort of long-run vision Solidarity has for democratic Poland. Does the emphasis on indepen-



Roses and a protest leaflet on a Polish auto.

dent unions and workers' councils indicate a preference for fully independent enterprises and a market system? Has distrust of the state led to a desire for ending state ownership? What allegiance does Solidarity feel to socialist ideology when its leader wears Catholic symbols and leads striking workers in prayer? If Solidarity professes little faith in the ruling Communist Party, even after its reformative Congress, what system of political parties does it think Poland should strive for?

The options are now under discussion; alternatives are circulating through Solidarity's regionalized structure. None has yet been elevated into dogma. But the outlines of the present consensus are discernible.

For the economy, there is a prevailing desire for greater market viability of enterprises and an end to state subsidization of inefficient production and distribution. The Yugoslav model of "market socialism" based on worker-run en-

terprises comes to mind and was referred to by the Solidarity members with whom we spoke. But, also like Yugoslavia, the Poles seem uninterested in returning to capitalist forms of ownership; they seek rather to lessen bureaucratic state interference by inventing some native form of social control.

In the political realm, they believe in the principle of free elections with secret ballot and they admire the liberal freedoms and parliamentary democracy they see in their neighbor to the north, social-democratic Sweden.

Culturally, they support and are contributing to a renaissance of Polish national self-expression. The meaning of Catholic loyalties here is complex, and very different from what an American might expect. People we spoke with were reluctant to put their feelings into words, but our sense was that the public affirmation of Catholic symbols by the

Continued on p. 10

POZNAN 1956
nie ma winnych

WYBRZEZE 1970
nie ma winnych

RADOM 1976
nie ma winnych

BYDGOSZCZ 1981
nie ma winnych

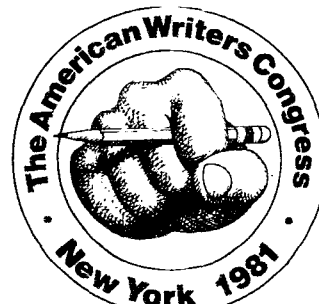
**CZAS
zdać
rachunek**

Poster recounting earlier uprisings: "No one was guilty/It's time to deliver."

parents strolled with their children, seemingly unafraid of a possible invasion from the East German border barely 15 miles away. In a central square people at fast-food stands were buying "toasty"—hot sandwiches of cheese, tomatoes and mushrooms. No one looked to be starving, and the lines were no longer than at McDonalds.

Until last year, Poland had a six-day work week, but since the advent of Solidarity, Saturday has been a day off three times a month, and Szczecin's residents were out to enjoy their hard-won leisure.

At the office of Solidarity itself, however, the easy calm of the outside did not prevail. A small crowd was gathered around the front door, reading the latest issues of *Komunikat*, a press release issued by the union's regional headquarters, free of government censorship. As we entered the front room, a telex machine noisily pounded out a press release from the union's national headquarters in Gdansk. A pot of stew bubbled on a hot-plate nearby to feed the women who had stayed up all night handling the flow of communications. At a table near the other wall, a teenage boy was slicing folded copies of *Komunikat* so that they could be pasted up on store and trolley windows around the city.



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Ferguson Hall
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Richard Bray at (312)248-9577

Poland

Continued from page 9

workers' movement served as a declaration of independence from the corrupted moral code expounded by the Party and an affirmation of human morality that connects Poland to other countries of the world. Certainly the fact of a Polish Pope has strengthened in many Poles a sense of national identity and of independent choice about where their country should go in the future. It takes Poland out of the Soviet orbit just one more step, and, from where they are, every small step counts for a great deal.

Between union and party.

Clearly, Solidarity is taking on more than just a trade union role. It really has come to represent the political voice of the Polish population—and this has drawn the ire of the government and the Party. "You are not keeping your promise to be a labor union," they accuse. "We have no ambitions as a political party," the union replies. They know full well that to try to stand as a party means standing in formal opposition to the Communists, which would create a breach too large for the Soviets to tolerate. So the heated arguments about Solidarity's role are not just a peevish fight about the correct label to apply; they reflect a central political crisis that both sides in Poland must solve, and solve soon, if the renewal process is to be given the time it needs really to transform Poland.

Poland at this moment is thrashing about in a political stalemate. The Communist Party has recovered sufficiently

from the shocks of 1980 to have convened its own national congress this July, where it elected a new central committee (the party's legislature) and a new politburo (its cabinet) and was willing to do these things by secret ballot. Stanislaw Kania, who until then had been only a temporary replacement for the discredited Geirek, now has a formal mandate from the more than 1,000 delegates elected by the Party's local committees across the land. And, as if to reflect its newfound sense of muscle after the Congress, the Party/government issued stern warnings that "if anarchy deepens, power can be brought to bear."

But of course, disorder is not the core of Poland's problem, it is only the symptom. The immediate problems of Poland are her economy—falling productivity and more than \$20 billion in foreign debt—and her oppressive bureaucratic system. The two are intertwined. Despite its internal reorganization, the Party has not come up with a comprehensive program to solve the country's economic crisis.

In contrast to the liberalization process in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Polish Party has published no "Action Program" to show the public it sympathizes with their complaints and has a strategy for solving them. The Czechoslovak Party placed a program of economic, political, cultural and educational reforms before the public just four months after their renewal process started in January, 1968. The Polish Party still has not responded comprehensively to public concerns.

And until there is visible government movement toward reform the average working person seems reluctant to increase productivity. As one young woman told me when asked if the new freedom in Poland had excited everyone to

pull together and bring the country out of its crisis—"Why should we work harder? We don't know where our efforts will go; the government is so incompetent, wasteful and untrustworthy."

By contrast, Czech workers' despondency switched to enthusiasm in the summer of 1968. They voluntarily began to work Sundays without pay once actions by Czechoslovak authorities made clear that the leadership endorsed the public will. Specifically, the Czechs in June 1968 enacted two demands now on Solidarity's list: an end to press censorship and the legalization of workers' councils.



Kania is being deliberately vague.

In the absence of decisive government action, the Polish economy continues to slide. The government responds to an emergency by reducing rations or raising prices, but this of course merely inflames the public more. The food protests this summer were sparked not by hunger in the strict sense, but by public exasperation when basics like bread and wheat or

pleasures like cigarettes and vodka became harder to get. (Real hunger is being experienced in the region of Lodz, however).

But the resulting public marches do not produce more food nor redistribute what food there is. Shortly after I left Poland, Solidarity offered to boost productivity by encouraging people to return to work on Saturdays—on condition that Solidarity, not the government, be in charge of how the Saturday output is distributed. If the government agrees, Solidarity will have strengthened worker control at the factory level and gained a foothold for worker control of the economy at the national level—an enormously momentous event.

The politics of vagueness.

What is the Party waiting for? It is curious that the Party has been able to reform its internal structures in a manner that departs sharply from Stalinist East European party traditions, yet has not been so flexible about solving the nation's other problems. Or is it?

In Kania's behavior since taking office last autumn, there is a discernable pattern of *deliberate* vagueness that has had the advantage of at least keeping the Soviet leaders from knowing for certain what will come next. If Kania is truly in favor of a more democratic Poland, he may have decided early on to keep the specifics from Soviet view, in order to gain the time Poland needs to discover and put into effect its democratic forms. Certainly the Poles, under his leadership, have been more successful, this time, than any other Soviet satellite in not provoking a Russian attack while liberalizing their system. They've been at it a full year, while the Czechoslovaks persuaded the Russians to keep hands off for only eight months in 1968—the Hungarians for only a few weeks in 1956.

True to this scenario, when Kania was challenged to reveal his preferences during debates at the recent Party Congress he responded, somewhat slipperily, "We'll go neither left nor right; but straight ahead, for socialist renewal."

Such a strategy has its risks. The Polish people see only the vagueness; they have not been presented with enough clear evidence of democratic reform by this regime to offset the years of broken promises by Gomulka and Geirek. The people I asked about the possibility of Soviet invasion certainly didn't credit the Party leader with preventing it.

The Russians have not granted Poland a final reprieve; they have only doled out measured amounts of time. Understanding this, the moderates in Solidarity have wisely called for a two-month moratorium on the street demonstrations that most provoke the Russians. But whether they will prevail over the more radical members at the union's national congress later this month remains to be seen.

The Party, for its part, needs to use this interim to bridge the disastrous gap existing between itself and the people. Clear support for a few of the seven concerns uppermost in the public's mind might accomplish that. But it may again fall to Solidarity to take the initiative—not in the streets so much as in the Party chambers, where 20 percent of the membership belongs to Solidarity.

Solidarity, which has already moved considerably beyond its role as strike leader since August 1980, may have to abandon altogether the confrontation model whereby the union remains totally outside of the regime and Poland only makes progress when the Party's arm is twisted. To buy time, an alliance between Solidarity and reform-minded members of the Party is needed, and needed soon.

For it is the unpleasant truth that, though we may want to celebrate Poland's achievement of a full year of unprecedented freedom and creative socialism, no stable system has yet been put into place. It could all be washed away in a trice. Poland stands now, not at the threshold of a second year of a new system, but only at the second year of new possibilities for a workable system.

Dr. Paul Bernstein, author of An Overlooked Alternative, a study of the 1968 Czech reform movement, and Workplace Democratization, teaches at Boston College.



If you think the air controllers are getting what they deserve, join the club.

Ronald Reagan thinks the air controllers and PATCO, their union, deserve exactly nothing.

No bargaining in good faith. No fair compensation. No better working conditions. No nothing.

Except a termination notice for every controller on the picket line and an indictment for every union organizer and leader.

A lot of people seem to agree with Ronald Reagan. Including a lot of people who never agreed with Ronald Reagan about anything before.

When Reagan implies that air controllers are paid too much already, these people nod their heads. When Reagan wraps himself in the flag and summarily fires and blacklists 12,000 men and women, these people flinch... but let it pass.

There's only one problem with this kind of thinking: the air controllers are not a special case.

They're average men and women who went out on strike because they had no other alternative. Not for trivial reasons. For important reasons. Like less stress on the job. More safety in the air. And the chance to vest in the pension system (most air controllers never make it to retirement).

Those are bargaining points any fair-minded American can stand behind. Even if you've never belonged to a union or gone out on strike, you can understand that people only fight when they absolutely have to.

You can also understand the message Ronald Reagan is sending to every employer and every worker in the country. Union-busting pays. Joining a union doesn't.

If the rest of us abandon the air controllers, who will be abandoned next? Where will we draw the line?

Reagan picked this fight against PATCO. If enough of us sit on the sidelines thinking this fight isn't ours, Reagan will win.

He'll pick the next fight just as carefully. And he'll win again. And again.

Until he's won it all.

It all comes down to this: Ronald Reagan is breaking a strike and busting a union. If you find yourself agreeing with Ronald Reagan, it's time to think again.

And time to start supporting the men and women fighting back all across America.

The air controllers and their families can't afford to lose this strike. Neither can the rest of us.

You can help by sending a contribution to the PATCO FAMILY FUND, 815 16th Street NW, Washington DC 20006.

Or to the LABOR LEGAL DEFENSE FUND, Box 42503, Washington DC 20015.

And you can contribute to the Campaign to Defend American Labor so this message will reach others.

You'll let Ronald Reagan know you're not a fan of his after all.

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SOUTH AFRICA

New unions set a fast pace



By James North

EAST LONDON, SOUTH AFRICA

THE SOUTH AFRICAN ALLIED Workers' Union (SAAWU) exploded onto the labor scene last year, enrolling 20,000 members in this medium-sized Indian Ocean port and staging strikes against a half dozen different employers. The alarmed apartheid regime sent Fanie Botha, its minister of manpower, on a special mission here to encourage employers to resist the militant new union. Four companies nonetheless disregarded Botha, caved in and signed recognition agreements; others settlements are on the way.

Now the union is aggressively going national. Its personable young leader, Thozamile Gqweta, claims 55,000 more members in other industrial centers, which would make SAAWU South Africa's largest black union federation. At the same time, two other organizations with a similar outlook—the Motor Assembly and Component Workers

constituted less than 1 percent of the black labor force), still regarded the two federations as dangerously militant, some younger black workers were disappointed at their timidity.

The first decisive break took place in Uitenhage in late 1979, where workers at the Ford assembly plant who had belonged to a branch of FOSATU's largest affiliate broke away and set up MACWUSA. That union, and a growing number of SAAWU and GWU branches that emerged the following year, refused point-blank to register and declared furthermore that they would speak out on political issues. In many cases, they worked closely with black civic associations in their communities.

One recent Saturday morning, SAAWU headquarters—several rooms in an aging office block—was bustling with activity. Shop stewards delivered union dues (each member pays about \$1 per month), then gathered for impromptu meetings. Idle workers, who in most cases had been fired for their union activities, came in to lend a hand with the office work. The men and women were overwhelmingly young, serious and purposeful.

Gqweta, who occupies an office that is bare except for a desk and a telephone, outlined the union's organizing procedure: "We wait until we get at least 60 percent membership in a particular factory. Usually we get 90 or 95 percent—the workers want it. Then they elect a five-member factory committee, plus a shop steward from each division. Any agreement that the committee signs must be approved by the membership."

Some East London companies have re-

But as one officeholder commented, "It didn't really matter. The workers just came in and managed the office until we were released."

Setting a militant pace.

The militant union movement is displaying a striking and unprecedented degree of working-class solidarity. Last January some 160 workers at the Firestone Tire plant in Uitenhage were fired after a wildcat strike. They approached MACWUSA for help. The union coordinated a sympathy strike, during which 3,000 workers at Firestone and the nearby Ford and General Motors plants walked out for two weeks in solidarity. Firestone backed off, promising to rehire the 160 workers.

The firebrand unions have also forced both FOSATU and CUSA to hurry to keep up with the pace. The result is a mounting strike wave that just keeps rolling along; nearly every day the newspapers carry reports of fresh work stoppages from all over the country.

A FOSATU affiliate recently won a significant victory at a Colgate-Palmolive plant in Boksburg, just east of Johannesburg. Colgate—ironically, in the past it had been rated a "model employer" in terms of the Sullivan Code, which purports to monitor U.S. investors here—first refused to recognize the union, then compromised but said it would not negotiate directly over plant conditions.

The company insisted the union first join the existing "industrial council," in which business and labor representatives from the entire industry bargain over industry-wide conditions. (Industrial councils, in which white unions have long par-

ing 6,000 workers took place at two separate gold mines in a single 10-day period. The miners were protesting the introduction of a new death benefit scheme that, ironically, actually represented something of an improvement. The men resisted it either because they misunderstood the scheme, or resented that it was introduced unilaterally.

Strikes or insurrection.

The more intelligent business leaders are coming to realize that as long as working-class unrest continues, it is better if it is channeled into organized unions, no matter how militant, which at least provide the possibility of communication and negotiation.

Paradoxically, foreign investment in South Africa also helps to promote a more benign attitude in some employers. Investment certainly strengthens the apartheid system overall, but it provides leverage to workers in local branches of the multinationals. Colgate, Ford and others are very much aware that overseas unions and anti-apartheid groups are monitoring their conduct here.

By no means are all employers showing stirrings of enlightenment. In April, the Sigma Motor Corporation, near Pretoria, dismissed 4,000 striking workers; Leyland, located in Cape Town, fired

Community ties allow the militant black unions to threaten more recalcitrant firms with a boycott.

2,400 strikers in May. In response, African National congress saboteurs blew up Sigma and Leyland auto showrooms in Durban, the third-largest city. (The ANC's labor wing, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, is not permitted to function inside the country. It exists in exile, and it almost certainly plays some undercover role in the current upsurge.)

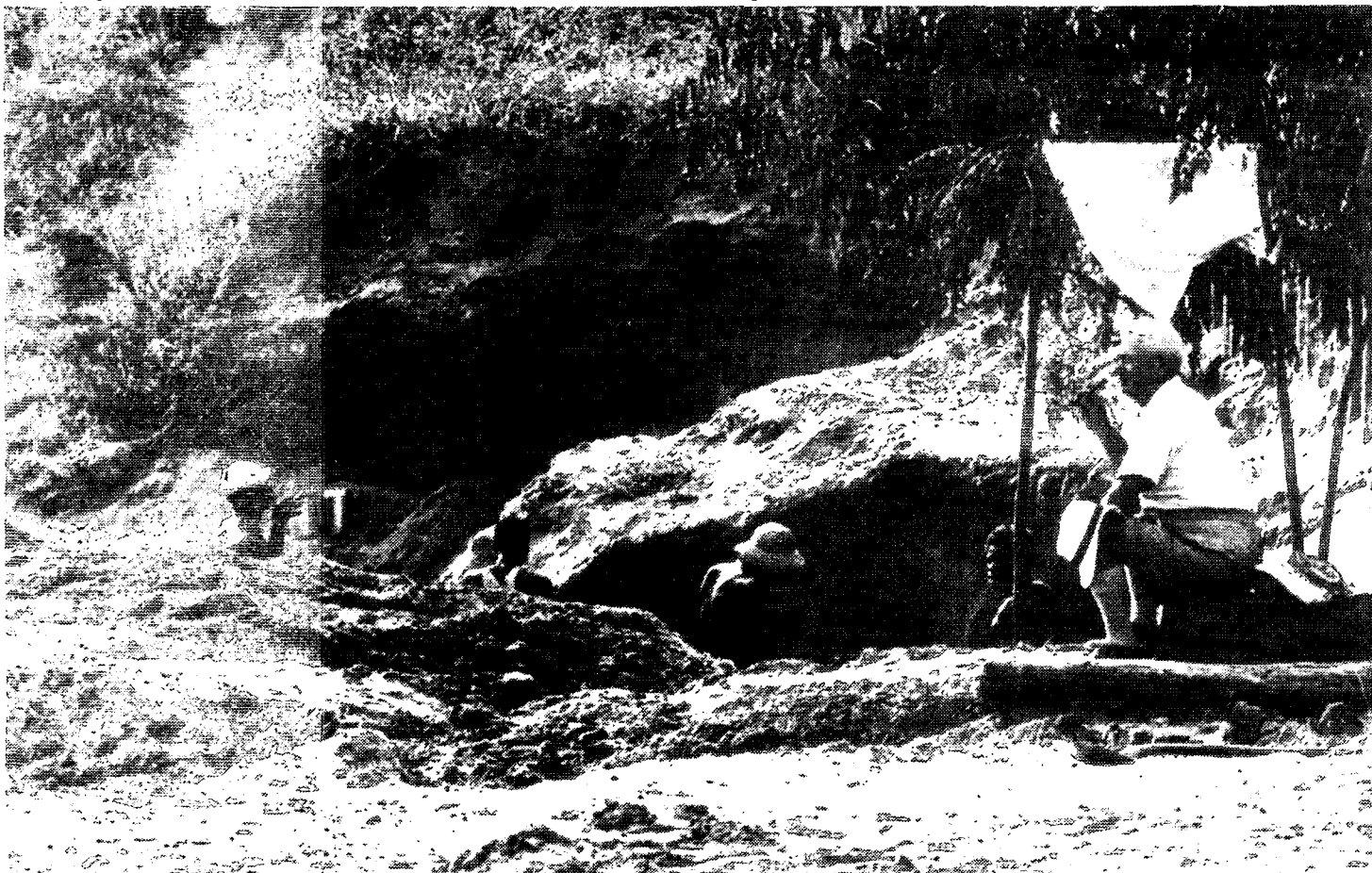
The regime's own intentions regarding black unions are not entirely clear. It introduced new, restrictive labor legislation into parliament last year—and then was forced to withdraw it after strong protest by the unions and even some employers. It is resubmitting watered-down bills to the current session of the assembly. The government would probably prefer to crush the unions, but it holds back for now because of pressure from some elements in the business community and to avoid an outcry overseas that could jeopardize continued foreign investment.

The black union movement is indeed, as Gqweta says, "going from strength to strength." But its gains should not be exaggerated. At best, only about 3 or 4 percent of the black workforce now belongs to unions. Vital sectors of the economy—mining, steelmaking, agriculture—are almost completely unorganized. And thus far, the unions have primarily confronted internationally-minded managers of large-scale enterprises, who are prepared to be more flexible than either the state (a significant employer here), or provincial owners of small and medium-sized concerns.

The enormous importance of migrant laborers in the economy—one estimate is that one out of every three black South African workers is a migrant—makes organizing even more difficult. Migrants typically are housed in closed, single-sex compounds, serving short-term contracts—forbidding conditions in which to build and sustain a union.

Moreover, the present upsurge has occurred during an economic boom, propelled in part by last year's high gold prices. Already the economy is starting to turn down and the unions will face layoffs and greater employer resistance to wage demands.

Several days after I spoke with Thozamile Gqweta, the South Africans swooped down, locking up him and the rest of the SAAWU executive committee. He's inside now, probably extolling trade unionism to his interrogators.



Union of South Africa (MACWUSA), based in nearby Uitenhage, and the General Workers Union (GWU), which originated in Cape Town, are also spreading their influence.

The success of the militant unions is a significant setback to the government's new labor policy. In 1979 it introduced its much-heralded "new deal" for black workers. The policy was in part intended to recognize black unions, but to require them to register officially and to comply with other conditions designed to limit their involvement in political and community affairs.

The Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) and the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), both formed during this period, gauged that the regime could not be provoked. Affiliates of both organizations moved toward registration, and both concentrated on workplace concerns. Though many employers, unfamiliar with black unions (at that stage, organized workers

sponded to the SAAWU organizing drive by firing their work forces en masse and then recruiting replacements from among the large body of jobless or selectively rehiring the more pliable ex-workers. SAAWU organizers say bitterly a certain black strike-breaker in the East London area earns close to \$7 for every scab he provides. (This tactic is less effective in the more modern factories, which employ a larger percentage of semi-skilled or skilled workers that cannot be replaced overnight.) SAAWU is fighting this by organizing the unemployed workers. It has also called consumer boycotts against recalcitrant employers—a tactic, coordinated with community groups, which has been used increasingly nationwide in the past few years.

The government has come down hard on SAAWU and other like-minded unions. Nearly all the labor leaders have done stints in police detention. At one stage, more than 50 SAAWU leaders and organizers were locked up without trial.

icipated, are notorious devices for removing labor issues from the shopfloor to remote, bureaucratic conference rooms. Most black unions want the councils either abolished or drastically modified.) The FOSATU union refused, and threatened both a strike and a consumer boycott. In late June, the company surrendered.

Colgate's about-face illustrates one reason businesses are making concessions—the sheer fact of a militant, organized working class. But there is another reason some companies are grudgingly coming to terms with unions—they want to reduce the danger of explosive worker outbursts.

Starting in 1973 a number of spontaneous work stoppages have taken place, at times culminating in riots. In some cases, businesses did not even know the grievances, and searched frantically for someone or some organization with which to negotiate.

In late July, for instance, riots involv-

The Big Hook-up

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YOU MAY NOT BE AWARE OF the impact of cable communications—but your congressman is. Cable companies have paid to install and run TV cameras in House chambers (soon, perhaps, in the Senate), sending out to cable consumers live coverage of sessions.

You may not be aware of how much money there is in cable. But your city council member is. She's just been told that cable company X can be counted on for re-election funds if it wins the franchise to wire your town. But company Y has some cushy jobs that will need filling, while company Z has bought the loyalty of some well-connected citizens by giving a group of them 15 percent of its stock.

You may not know how fast the cabling of America is progressing. But the Washington consultants do. They're already closing books on franchising consulting, and opening up new ones for the refranchising game.

The cabling of America is tough, fast and dirty, but it's not simple. Ever since Irving Kahn, then president of the huge cable company Teleprompter, went to jail in 1966 for bribing local officials in Johnstown, Pa., the cable companies have looked into other ways to anchor their precious local monopoly on cable systems and to make cable competitive with "free TV."

They discovered politics.

Cable companies are now experts at the political process. The National Cable TV Association (NCTA) is now, according to Bernie Wunder (Reagan's appointee to the National Telecommunications Information Agency), the top-dog communications lobby in Washington. The FCC is now at 180 degrees from its anti-cable stance of nine years ago and Congress is passing laws with clauses openly written by cable operators. Finally, cable operators have figured out how to play local politics with a finesse that can leave entire city councils standing in their underwear.

Most of it is not illegal, but it's not democratic either. The higher the technology, the sharper the irony. Never have we been closer technically to a dazzling diversity and localism in expression than with the options that cable—in combination with satellites, microwave relays and computers—provides. But never have we been further away economically.

A few companies control cable systems—10 companies control nearly half that market. Those same companies also control nearly all the programming. Time Inc. is an impressive example. Its Home Box Office is by far the biggest pay-program distributor, with two-thirds of all pay-cable subscribers. HBO can advertise, among other places, in Time Inc.'s publications *Time* and *People* and it leases transponders on three satellites for the life of the satellite. Time Inc.'s wholly-owned subsidiary, American Television Communications (ATC), is the biggest cable system operator. ATC also owns subscription TV licenses, multipoint distribution systems (microwave systems that bring in, among other things, pay

TV where there is no cable) and a state-of-the-art decoder for subscription TV broadcast with a scrambled signal. Finally, Time-Life Films produces films and has served as syndicator for the BBC in the U.S.

Time Inc. has big-time rivals—RCA for instance. RCA owns satellites, transmitters and receiving equipment and builds cable TV systems. It also owns NBC, which, like other networks, is getting into cable production, now that CBS has won an experimental waiver from the FCC's ban on TV networks owning cable systems.

Companies are teaming up with capital-rich partners to turn opportunity into money. Warner Amex Cable, for instance, pools American Express' capital with Warner's expertise. The fourth largest cable TV system in the U.S., it has been a spectacular front-runner in recent franchises. It is also one of the politically best-attuned, with former New York City Deputy Mayor Richard Aurelio as senior vice president.

The merger between Teleprompter and Westinghouse Broadcasting Company promises vertical integration high enough to make Time Inc. dizzy. Teleprompter, largest of the multiple systems cable operators, is also half-owner of the second-largest pay cable service Show-



Mark Fowler thinks the FCC is the "last of the New Deal dinosaurs."

time, as well as being a dominant syndicator of children's programming and owning Muzak. Westinghouse's Group W is the nation's fourth largest broadcast station owner (right behind the three networks), as well as owning cable systems, TV programming and cable TV programming.

With the merger, the largest in the history of electronic media, Group W can—according to a National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting (NCCB) petition to the FCC—"muscle into the cable industry on the back of the industry leader." Group W's latest plans—to produce a 24-hour news service with ABC, an added attraction for Teleprompter's systems—is a taste of future projects.

These soup-to-nuts communications companies are just bringing us the most up-to-date services possible, they assure us. But there are plenty of reasons not to abandon the future of cable to a handful of corporations. Soon you may bank by TV, get mail that way and find out about or even perform your job on your home screen. If cable becomes as crucial a part of first-class citizenship as a phone is now, what happens to people who can't afford the service, or who weren't even included in hook-ups because their area wasn't rich enough? What happens to workers whose jobs will disappear or who will be more poorly paid as cable substitutes for other services? What happens to all the information that our TV sets will leak about our private lives?

Cable companies are slipping out from under any uncomfortable answers to such

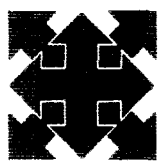
IPS

SECURITY IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

RESEARCH
GUIDE
TO
CURRENT
MILITARY
AND
STRATEGIC
AFFAIRS

William M. Arkin.
(1981) ca 250 pp.
ISBN 0-89758-027-7.
(paper, \$7.95).

The first comprehensive guide to public information sources on the U.S. military and defense, Soviet and other foreign military affairs, and global strategic issues. Provides descriptions of all basic research tools. Includes analysis of the U.S. military defense policy and posture; the nature of U.S. foreign policy and military aid; weapons systems; NATO; arms control and disarmament; and intelligence operations.

PROTEST
AND
SURVIVE

J. S. Thompson and Lee Smith, Editors. Introduction by Daniel Ellsberg.
(1981) 122 pp., paper. Monthly Review Press. \$4.95.

A collection of essays by anti-war opposition to nuclear war.

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Cyril E. Black, Director
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Virginia University

THE COUNTERFORCE
SYNDROME: A Guide to
U.S. Nuclear Weapons
and Strategic Doctrine

Robert C. Aldridge. (second
edition 1979) 86 pp., paper,
ISBN 0-89758-008-7, \$4.95.

This study discloses the shift from "deterrence" to "countervailing force" in U.S. strategic doctrine. A thorough, newly-revised summary and analysis of U.S. strategic nuclear weapons and military policy including descriptions of ICBMs, SSBNs, Trident systems, cruise missiles, and MX missiles in relation to the threat of a U.S. or Soviet attack.

DUBIOUS SPECTER:
A Skeptical Look at the
Soviet Nuclear Threat

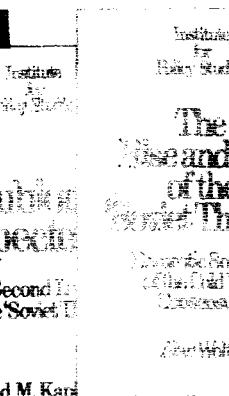
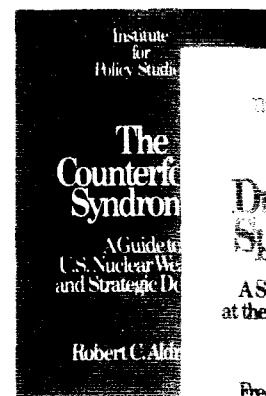
Fred Kaplan. (1980) 110 pp.,
paper, ISBN 0-89758-031-0,
\$4.95.

Do the Soviets really threaten American ICBMs with a devastating surprise attack? Will Soviet military doctrine lead the Russians to threaten nuclear war in order to ward off encroachments from the West? Do Soviet leaders think they can fight and win a nuclear war? Fred Kaplan summarizes the debate from the proliferation of U.S. and Soviet nuclear capabilities and strategies and provides the necessary background for understanding current debates on arms limitation and military risks.

RESURGENT
MILITARISM

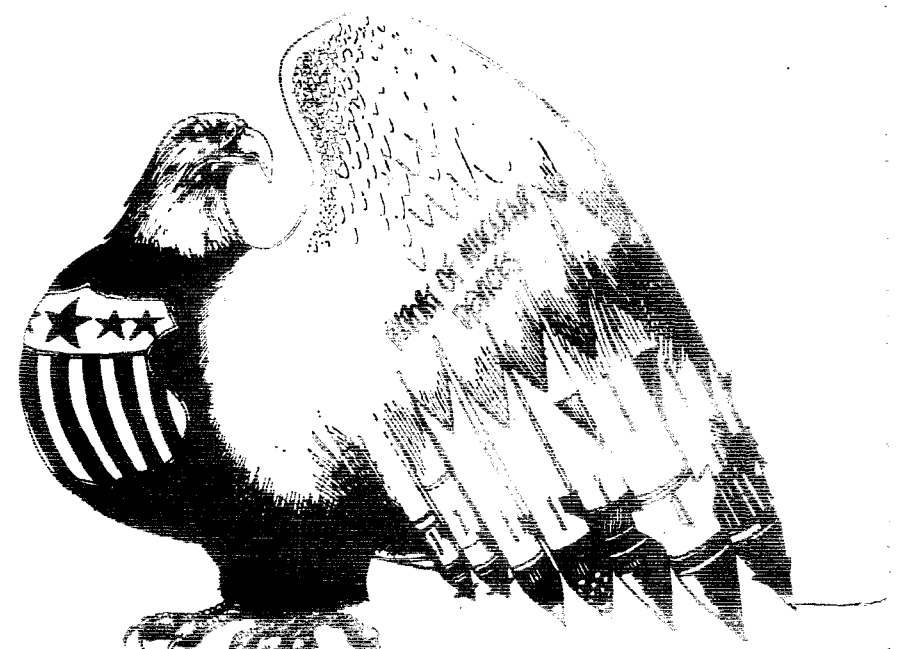
Michael T. Klare and the Boy
Army Chapter of the Inter-
University Committee. (1978)
14 pp., loose paper, \$2.00.

An analysis of the resurgence of the growing military fervor which is spreading from Washington across the nation. The study examines America's changing strategic position, the Vietnam and the political and economic forces which underlie the new upsurge in militarism.



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1981
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Nuclear Arms Race

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—Daniel Ellsberg

THE RISE AND FALL
OF THE 'SOVIET
THREAT': Domestic
Sources of the
Cold War Consensus

Alan Wolfe. (1980) 94 pp., paper,
ISBN 0-89758-014-2, \$4.95.

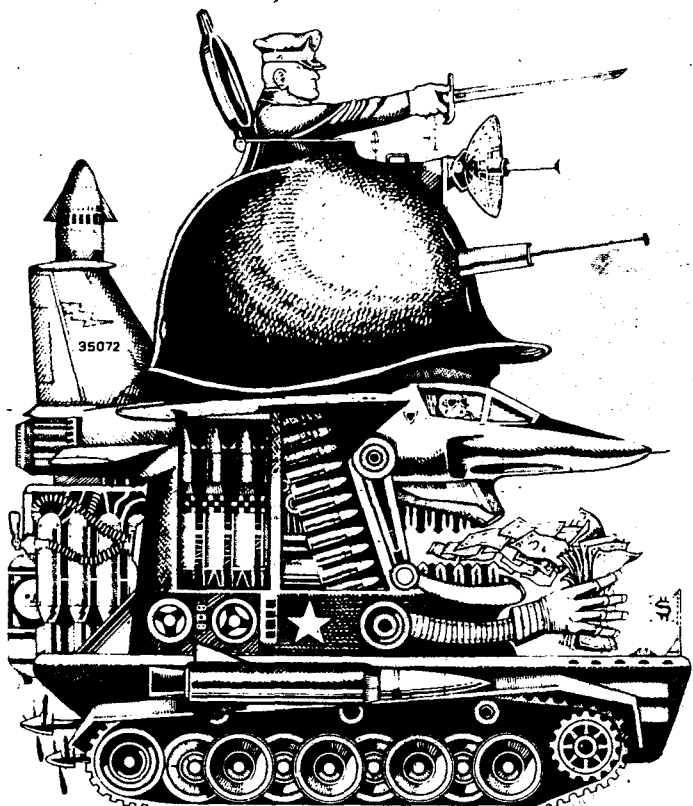
A timely essay demonstrating that American fear of the Soviet Union tends to fluctuate according to domestic factors as well as in relation to the military and foreign policies of the USSR. Wolfe contends that recurring features of American domestic politics periodically coalesce to spur anti-Soviet sentiment, contributing to increased tensions and dangerous confrontations.

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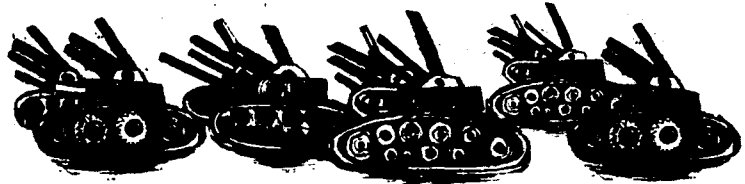
A comprehensive discussion of the programs and policies through which the U.S. supports police and internal security forces in repressive Third World countries.

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Bereket Habte Selassie. (1980) 288 pp, cloth, Monthly Review Press, \$15.00, (\$6.50 paper).

A thoughtful examination of the history and geography of the conflict in the Horn of Africa. Detailing the crucial role of intervention by the big powers and neighboring Arab countries in promoting present hostilities, this study also presents a history of Ethiopian expansionism and an analysis of the national forces fighting for self-determination in Eritrea.

INTERVENTION AND REVOLUTION: America's Confrontation With Insurgent Movements Around the World

Richard J. Barnet. (1968) 302 pp, paper, New American Library, \$3.95.

A classic study of American intervention in developing nations. This lucid work refutes the Cold War tenets of U.S. foreign policy and documents the history of repressive military intervention. Analyzing the indigenous causes of revolution in the Third World, Barnet attributes our reactionary stance to American domestic pressures.

ROOTS OF WAR: The Men and Institutions Behind U.S. Foreign Policy

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The New York Times

THE LAWLESS STATE

Morton H. Halperin, Jerry J. Berman, Robert L. Borosage, Christine M. Marwick. (1976) 328 pp, paper, Penguin, \$3.95. The first thoroughly documented report on the crimes and abuses of the U.S. intelligence agencies. Reviewing each agency's specific bureaucratic history of political spying, this work presents two case studies—the CIA campaign against Allende and the FBI vendetta against King.

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Fred Halliday. (1981) ca 100 pp, paper, ISBN 0-89758-028-1, \$4.95.

The crescent of nations extending from Ethiopia through the Arab world to Iran and Afghanistan has become the setting of an intense new geopolitical drama. In this incisive study, Halliday reviews the complex role played there by the Soviet Union—a role shaped as much by caution as by opportunity, as much by reaction to American moves as by Soviet initiative. Above all, the Soviet role is defined and limited by the indigenous politics of the region.

BEYOND THE VIETNAM SYNDROME: U.S. Interventionism in the 1980s

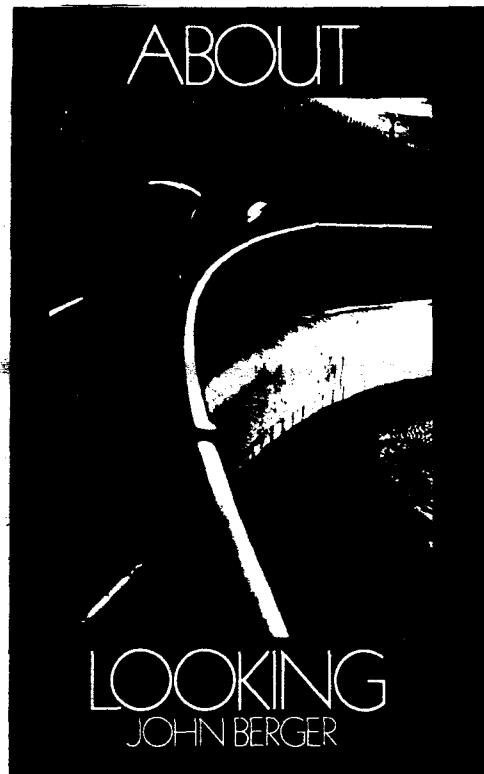
Michael T. Klare. (1981) ca 80 pp, paper, ISBN 0-89758-027-3, \$4.95.

A study of the emergence of a new U.S. interventionist military policy. Shows how policymakers united to combat the "Vietnam Syndrome"—the public's resistance to American military involvement in future Third World conflicts—and to relegate the use of military force as an instrument of foreign policy. Includes a close look at the Pentagon's "Rapid Deployment Force," and a study of comparative U.S.-Soviet transcontinental intervention capabilities.

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G.

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Manchester University

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SECURITY IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

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By Pat Aufderheide

Graphic by Ann Tyler

questions—or indeed from any public responsibility.

Just two little words in the right place will make a cable operator squirm. Say them—"common carrier." A common carrier simply transmits information. It has to offer uniform rates, take all comers and not control the information.

Phone companies are common carriers; cable companies are not. AT&T, threatened by deregulation of its monopoly, has tried to beat cable operators to the punch for services, by providing information over its lines. The only thing cable companies hate worse than competition from supergiant AT&T is the threat of being labelled common carriers.

So they have struck a compromise. Under new common carrier legislation, proposed as Senate bill 898 and already whisked through committee, the phone company would win the coveted right to offer services in a protected subsidiary. Cable operators, though, would avoid being labelled common carriers.

If cable is not regulated federally as a medium, neither is it as a message. Cable operators don't need to observe public service obligations or the fairness doctrine, like broadcasters are supposed to, except on the occasional local origination channel. With Mark ("un-regulation") Fowler at the head of the FCC, federal controls are not going to get any tighter, even though he—a long-time attorney for broadcasters—is chummy with the cable operators' traditional enemies. As Fowler said at the NCTA convention recently, "Our first and foremost objective is to create...an unregulated competitive marketplace environment for the development of communications." In a marketplace so dominated by vertically-integrated giant corporations, however, the notion of free competition without regulation seems positively quaint.

Not that it seems so to Fowler, who even more recently told broadcasters his own agency "is the last of the New Deal dinosaurs," promising that "we are moving toward the concept of relying on the marketplace to define public interest." He assured the broadcasters moreover that "each time you are successful commercially you are serving the needs of the public."

There still is one sticking point in this race for an information future presided over by Milton Friedman. Because cable operators have to string wires along public streets they need a municipal franchise. This creates possibly the greatest potential for public control over the new medium—and the greatest diversity in cable operators' dodges.

Franchising is much beloved by supply-siders—they say it obviates government regulation. The city can demand the best bid from a company, and can impose obligations with a contract. People get new jobs and better services, and the city gets a percent—between 3 and 5 percent—of the company's annual profit.

Such a deal.

Most cities haven't gotten much of one, though. Some cities don't even try—

Houston, for instance. There the city council, never having advertised nationally for bids, spent 15 minutes granting five chunks of the city to five local companies with no experience but with differing amounts of political pull and backing by big cable companies. Some of those franchises were simply, profitably and illegally resold to conglomerates.

Now the balkanized cable consumers of Houston have no provisions for public access to or checks on their local service. The city doesn't even have the right to use the cable service to give out emergency information or to air city council meetings. But city officials aren't complaining. You get the impression they would just as soon not have their transactions televised.

Where corruption doesn't account for a bad deal, ignorance traditionally has. Thanks to work by such organizations as the National Federation of Local Cable Programmers (NFLCP) and the National League of Cities as well as media reform groups like the NCCB and the United Church of Christ (through the Office of Communication and its Community Telecommunications Services), there is no longer much excuse for ignorance.

And savvy gets you somewhere. In Boston, where Mayor Kevin White was in the rare position of being final decision-maker on the franchise, the city asked for the moon and got it, from Cablevision. Requirements included, besides a 3 percent cut of annual gross profits for the city, another 5 percent for a nonprofit community access corporation and a whopping 20 percent of channel capacity to stay with that group. The city further plans to build a gigantic "media production center" to be one-third owned by the city, the cabled core of which will be paid for in part by Cablevision's use. Cablevision is also offering Boston residents 16 percent interest bonds in the operation.

It's a clever plan for city revenue, but city cable consultant Dan Jones would rather talk about social services the new system can provide. Programs for city schoolkids whose field trip budget has

Tim Wirth thinks municipal ownership of cable has possibilities.



been wiped out; "trigger tapes," made quickly to generate discussion on local controversy; neighborhood-only shows of the high-school play. The value of cable channels to cities and to citizens is already well-established. In Madison, Wisc., a government access channel includes local election coverage, fire department training, legal workshops for the handicapped and job announcements. (The job listings get particularly high points for effectiveness.)

There aren't too many lucrative franchises left to snap up—that is, somewhere either affluent or densely populated or both. As the choices narrow, the

race heats up and promises get bigger. Look at New York, where competition is hot for four uncabled boroughs. The biggest pie in the sky is Teleprompter's. Its Brooklyn franchise proposal looks munificent. For the high-tech happy it offers 268 channels on a five-cable network. For a revenue-starved city it offers \$3 million in franchise fees *in advance*. For TV addicts it offers 12 channels of service before you start to pay for programs. And for those noisy public interest advocates it offers \$10 million in



Bernie Wunder has faith in the free market.

start-up money for local programming, with an annual million dollar budget and a staff of 190.

Sounds good. But cable operators seem to have learned something from campaigning politicians.

At Atlanta was a classic victim of what is known as "overpromising." There the city made a deal with Cable Atlanta, which promised two ultramodern cable trunks, one with 54 channels for homes and another with 41 channels for institutions. The company also promised an access studio with fulltime staff and budget.

But, according to city planner Michael Langley, "Enforcement has been a nightmare." Those channel systems the company promised were still on paper when it promised them and the second system still does not exist, while the first offers only 32 of the touted 54 channels. As for public access, the company refuses to price its investment in equipment, while the city has not forced the company to cough up any numbers. Public access is still a nice-sounding promise, and because the city neglected to turn the proposal into law on issuing the franchise, it may stay that way.

In San Francisco the cable company has a selective interpretation of its promise to construct a system—it has only wired the wealthier neighborhoods. Further, it used its own failure to complete its job to wangle an extension on the franchise. In Boulder, Co., when Telecommunications Inc. didn't deliver the services it promised, the city council threatened to keep it from expanding. The company promptly sued the city for a million dollars (the case is in the Supreme Court).

Many city governments don't even push a cable company to offer a non-profit or less profitable service—after all, the city is taking a cut of the profits too. Now, refranchising is beginning to repeat some of the failures of the earliest franchising processes.

Cable companies are disgruntled even with this level of municipal control, perhaps because they noticed that some cities did learn from other cities' errors. So they've gone back to the federal level with their favorite tool, the NCTA. The NCTA inserted into S. 898 amendments removing rate regulatory power from cities and denying them the right to require access channels. The bill left com-

Continued on page 22

EDITORIAL

*Insane dynamic
in the Gulf of Sidra**In Libya,
Reagan likes the
Billy Martin/
Bobby Fischer
theory of
international
relations.*

The Reagan administration's shooting down Aug. 19 of two Libyan warplanes over the Gulf of Sidra was intended to project a new combativeness in its relations to the Soviet Union and its allies. It was also supposed to demonstrate American naval dominance of the Mediterranean Sea. But the administration's actions also revealed a deep and dangerous irrationality that could eventually plunge the world into war.

The Reagan administration has adopted the Billy Martin/Bobby Fischer theory of international relations. Diplomatic success or failure is measured in terms of military victory or defeat. This theory has always had some public support, but it also seems to have won favor among the Reagan administration's higher councils.

George Will Jr., the columnist and close Reagan associate, voiced this approach last October when he spoke on behalf of Reagan before the American Council for Capital Formation. Asked what he thought a new administration's first national security priority should be, Will replied, "We have to win something."

In last month's *New York Times*, William Safire quotes what he describes as a "high geopolitician" (sic) who has a similar view. Referring to the U.S.-Soviet conflict, this lofty strategy says, "If the Reagan administration is to be taken seriously, it will have to take one of their pieces off the board."

The Reagan administration has chosen Libya as the most vulnerable Soviet "piece." Ruled by Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi, friend of Idi Amin and the Palestinian "rejectionists" and foe of Arab sultans and monarchs, Libya is unpopular among many African and Arab states and is distrusted by the Soviets. Earlier, Reagan broke relations with Libya, ostensibly because of Libyan attempts to kill opponents of the Qaddafi regime residing in Colorado. (The Chilean assassination of exile Orlando Letelier did not deter Reagan from strengthening U.S. ties with the Pinochet government.) Reagan's CIA director William Casey also has tried to initiate a campaign to topple Qaddafi. And beginning last February and climaxing last month, the administration prepared a challenge to Libyan claims over the Gulf of Sidra.

Reagan, wearing a baseball-style cap at his post-battle press conference, declared, "Let friend and foe alike know that America has the muscle to back up its word." *Time* captured the event's essence in its cover headline, "United States 2, Libya 0."

But world politics has different rules than either baseball or chess. With the Soviet Union having become the military equal of the U.S., neither side could "win" an all-out war. And with the decline in American economic power, the

U.S. can no longer count on cooperation from its European, Japanese and third-world teammates.

Faced with this complex reality, the U.S. could recognize its own limitations and develop a foreign policy based on diplomacy and designed to secure its citizen's liberties at home rather than the liberties of its multinationals abroad. Or, like Germany and Japan in the 1930s, the U.S. could try to use military force and bluster to compensate for its economic and military deficiencies. This latter cause has been adopted by the Reagan administration.

There is an insane dynamic to this strategy. Its initial effects, seen in the European responses to the neutron bomb decision or in the moderate Arab response to the Libyan shootout, has been to increase American diplomatic isolation. Even the Saudi Arabian government, which Qaddafi has been openly trying to overthrow, condemned the American attack as "cowboy politics." But growing American isolation only seems to strengthen the argument for military rather than diplomatic action as a means of showing both our friends and our enemies that we "mean business."

A diplomatic approach to Libyan claims over the Gulf of Sidra would have dictated American participation in rather than abstention from the ongoing Law of the Sea Conference, where claims like those of Libya have been on the agenda.

But more fundamentally, a diplomatic rather than military approach might have raised questions about why the U.S. needs to sail its warships in the Gulf at all or fly its planes over North Korea's coastline.



PLAYING HARDBALL

Jandori/Reflex

*Compassion for apartheid**In South Africa,
administration
policy is more
passive.*

On Aug. 31, the United States cast a lone veto of a UN Security Council resolution to condemn South Africa's invasion of Angola. The veto, coupled with Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker's Aug. 29 policy speech in which he stated that despite South Africa's racist policies the U.S. would not choose sides between blacks and whites and would not try to undermine the South African government—formalize the Reagan administration's application of "quiet diplomacy" to the apartheid South African regime.

The dictates of quiet diplomacy apparently absolve the South Africans of responsibility for their rampage in Angola, which was a flagrant violation of Angolan sovereignty launched from an illegally occupied territory.

Secretary of State Haig attempted to give a rationalization by saying that it has to "be understood in its full context"—the presence of "an and Soviet advisors in Angola along with attacks of SWAPO guerrillas who he said, "inflict

bloodshed and terrorism on the innocent noncombatant inhabitants of Namibia."

The Namibian situation does need to be understood in its full context. But this context shows that SWAPO is not a puppet of either the Soviet Union or Cuba. It is rather an outgrowth of a long resistance struggle that began around the turn of the century under German colonial rule. Conditions hardly got better after the South Africans assumed control in 1921. They proceeded to integrate the Namibian government with their own and install an apartheid regime complete with a system of "pass laws" that required blacks to have permits to move from district to district or to work in cities.

The supporters of SWAPO are not the source of the Namibians' suffering. Indeed, in view of overwhelming South African military superiority, it is possible for SWAPO to operate in Namibia only because it enjoys massive popular support. South African officers in Namibia routinely acknowledge this, and the government of South Africa implicitly attests to this with its refusal to allow the UN to hold elections.

The State Department refuses to recognize these realities. Swayed by the considerable American trade and investment in South Africa, it professes to take a neutral position that balances the evils of supposedly Soviet-dominated Angola and SWAPO with the drawbacks of South African apartheid.

The South Africans have taken full advantage of the Reagan administration's indifference toward their occupation of Namibia and their apartheid policies at home. It is no coincidence that just after Reagan was elected, South Africa reneged on its commitment to abide by the UN resolution to hold elections in Namibia. Developments in South Africa during the first eight months of the Reagan administration—especially the brutal campaign to remove "illegal" blacks from Cape Town—show just what State Department claims that quiet diplomacy will bring gradual reform of apartheid mean. As Rep. Howard Wolpe (D-Mich.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, said on returning from a recent trip to South Africa, the consensus of many South African moderates is that the trend is toward a harsher apartheid policy.

Yet for the first time in memory, the State Department has granted visas to a South African rugby team for a tour of the country. The occasion gives Americans the opportunity to protest Reagan's detente with apartheid. Local groups will hold protest demonstrations in Chicago on Sept. 19, in Rochester on Sept. 26, in Albany on Sept. 27 and on Sept. 17 in all three cities to commemorate the murder of Steven Biko. Information about the demonstrations and other activities may be obtained by calling: (312)427-4064 in Chicago, (212)952-1210 in Rochester and (518)457-2952 in Albany.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

WHA NABET?

I WISH TO RESPOND TO CHARLES RUDINICK's letter (*ITT*, July 29). As an individual who has worked with many of the members of the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians (NABET), I respect the spirit of the organization. Godmother Productions gave full hearing to local union members in the making of the film, *Tell Me a Riddle*.

Friends and people unknown to us applied to be in our crew. Individuals who had claimed for years that they would support our effort suddenly came in wanting higher than scale salaries, which we could not afford.

In several meetings with NABET, we indicated that though all basic issues had been part of our hiring practices—such as payrolling employees, disability wages, federal and state withholding and above minimum pay for all persons on the set—we were not interested in a single union contract. We were hiring individuals skilled and talented enough to handle the job who were from unions all over the country or who were not unionized.

There were people from NABET who were not chosen, based on talent or cost, for our crew. The basic breach of good negotiating came from those members of NABET who were embittered by this. Up until this time not one union official had contacted Godmother to verify rumors and complaints. Meanwhile, NABET sent telegrams to people, ranging from Tillie Olsen to Lee Grant to Melvyn Douglas, claiming unfairness. After our appearance at an executive board meeting of the union where the claim of less than minimum wages was shown to be false, NABET officially stated that there would be an apology telegram. No such apology was made.

Our crew, though small, had more women in important crew positions than any film made in the Bay Area in 1979. We have had no complaints from people who worked for us, only from those who didn't.

For a group that should want to make it possible for filmmakers to work in the Bay Area, NABET's actions in this case were more of an obstacle than a benefit.

We expect to keep making films in the Bay Area. We also expect to see members of NABET working on our next film.

—Rachel V. Lyon
Godmother Productions
—Mindy J. Afrime
—Susan O'Connell
Berkeley, Calif.

SOCIALISM OR BARBARISM

THE EDITORIAL "NEXT TIME, BUSINESS will be to blame" (*ITT*, Aug. 12) is excellent as far as it goes in explaining why Reaganism will fail and people will soon be looking for some surer solution.

The ruling class will have exhausted their salable options as both liberal and conservative economic policies will have been tried and failed.

Their last option (a police state fascist regime to guarantee profits in a no-growth economy by destroying the American working people's organized ability to defend themselves) will become increasingly their order of the day.

A tactical demand to nationalize oil may be useful, but it is even more important to popularize an understanding of why the military-industrial complex and the international corporations control our economy for their interests and why monopoly capitalism now finds it unprofitable to expand social production and employment while finding it increasingly profitable to invest the shrinking social surplus into military cost-plus contracts and completely non-socially productive speculation in real estate, industry, diamonds and art.

Capital, which at one time went into expanding industry, housing, research, health, education, welfare and generally expanding consumption, is now expended in institutionalized waste.

As the status quo becomes impossible we must clearly demonstrate that the alternatives are socialism or fascism.

—A. Robert Kaufman
Baltimore, Md.

FERTILIZED EGGS

I DISAGREE STRONGLY WITH SHEILA McMullin's disparagement of Italy's vote against compulsory childbearing as "a vote in support of the destruction of physical human life" (*ITT*, Aug. 12). To my knowledge, abortions in Italy are limited to the first 90 days. It takes much longer than that to develop an organism with enough human characteristics, including the capacity to survive without parasitizing another's body, to be rationally classified as "human."

Mere words cannot a "person" make of a fertilized egg, either through legislative decree or papal encyclical. It takes women's bodies, and sometimes even their lives, to do that. Excluding them from any say in the outcome of any unintentional pregnancy is neither wise nor just.

How much of that vote was "pro-abortion" and how much for freedom of conscience and religion (pro-choice)? Defining these issues in terms of "pro-

abortion" and "pro-life" is simplistic. Fr. Dan Berrigan is proof positive that one can be sincerely and passionately pro-life without becoming rabidly intolerant, monomaniacal or tyrannical. I have several anti-abortion friends who readily sign my pro-choice postcards.

It is equally important to note that not all anti-choice zealots can be accurately described as "pro-life." Ron Reagan, for example, is aggressively promoting the biggest military budget in our history, stepping up U.S. support of the murderous regime in El Salvador, and warmly embracing the bomb that destroys only people instead of buildings. To top it off, he cast the lone dissenting vote in the World Health Organization against the code to regulate the marketing practices of infant formula salesmen that are causing so many deaths of undeniably "human" babies. All too often, a "pro-life" banner is only a sanctimonious camouflage for virulent sexism or religious bigotry.

For all of the above reasons, I prefer to define the current political struggles over abortion in terms of "pro-choice" vs. "anti-choice."

—Audrey Patton
Moody, Mo.

INVEST IN US

A SHORT NOTE OF THANKS AND praise for your efforts to publish America's alternative newspaper. I especially enjoyed the Aug. 12 issue. However appreciated words of praise may be, it's nice to receive something more substantial in support. Thus, it occurred to me that R. Reagan's tax rebate legislation has given us all (the opposition) an ironic opportunity to invest in those things that matter. Since supply-side economics expects us to invest our tax rebates into profitable ventures, may I suggest that *In These Times* provide such an investment opportunity by providing a "Pledge Your Tax Rebate" drive. In this drive, readers, subscribers, sympathizers, etc., would be given an opportunity to pledge their entire 1981 tax rebate (i.e., the amount that Reagan's bill provides over and above the usual tax return) to political groups and causes they see as important investments in their own future. While this will not be an extraordinary amount, it will be significant in large numbers of pledges. To kick off the drive, I will pledge my Reagan tax rebate to *In These Times*. Few opportunities exist to turn your adversaries' weapons against themselves. This is a good one.

—Robert Spich
Bellingham, Wash.

OH WELL

"WORKING-CLASS HEROES AT HOME and abroad" by Alexander Cockburn (*ITT*, Aug. 25) is to my mind a shallow piece of journalism. In selecting the quotations, he does not take into account the nature of the two societies and in whose interests they operate. Given the mismanagement and even corruption, the Polish society attempts to correct its errors and is concerned with the interests of the people and not a few millionaires. Aside from that, after all the months of turmoil I have yet to read where a Polish worker was fired from his job, and the government is in constant negotiation with Solidarity.

—Ed. Bender
Oakland, Calif.

THE BUSINESS OF GOVERNMENT

THE PATCO STRIKE. WORKING CONDITIONS and reasonable demands set the stage; Secretary Lewis' lack of constructive and honest bargaining signaled its start; U.S. federal law (in the form of an oath), which falsely differentiates between public and private workers, was the basis for government action; and the anti-labor nature of the national industrialists and their thespian president, has given birth to the visible and painful reality of "infantile" fascism.

The government of the free has fired nearly 13,000 PATCO workers, has jailed scores of their strike leaders, and is about to have the union decertified. Astounding! Talk about the role of the state in capitalism—\$2 to 5 billion to bust a union!

—Robert Norberg
Progress for Labor, San Diego, Calif.

SARCASTIC

ALTHOUGH I FOUND DIANA JOHNSTONE's article on the P-2 scandal (*ITT*, Aug. 12) informative and well researched, I am disturbed when she describes the P-2 scandal as "startling even by Italian standards" and when she asserts that "Italian scandals occur so frequently they are 'exhausting the possibilities of this particular art form.'" These remarks are sarcastic and insensitive. They also reinforce old stereotypes of Italians as bumbling, criminalistic and ineffectual.

—John Crucioff
Minneapolis, Minn.

Roger Baldwin: Founder of ACLU

ROGER BALDWIN, A FOUNDER AND longtime leader of the American Civil Liberties Union, died on Aug. 26 at the age of 97.

Baldwin was born into an aristocratic New England family, but his political and philosophic thinking was most affected by Emma Goldman and other anarchists. Widely known as a crusader for civil liberties, particularly freedom of speech, his main contribution is usually distorted or ignored.

Baldwin's greatest achievement was his organizing and uniting of a coalition of labor and the left that became a viable, largely successful free speech movement. In the organizational memorandum that established the ACLU in 1920 Baldwin called for a "dramatic campaign of service to labor" and a governing board composed of a core of labor leaders and labor sympathizers.

The common view about freedom of speech ignores this history and depicts the nature and development of free speech as a narrowly legal process. As Baldwin told me in a recent interview, "Organization was the basis of our service in the ACLU," and arguments in

court were "secondary." "If we had been a legal aid society helping people get their constitutional rights, as such agencies do their personal rights, we would have behaved quite differently. We would have stuck to constitutional lawyers and arguments in courts. We would not have surrounded ourselves with popular persons. But we did the opposite. We attached ourselves to the movements we defended. We identified ourselves with their demands...and we depended on them for money and support." Under Baldwin's leadership, the ACLU conducted an intense political campaign—including everything from civil disobedience to massive publicity efforts to person-to-person attempts to persuade at all levels of society.

The free speech struggle was not easy. Many died, and many more were injured or imprisoned. Baldwin was arrested during a free speech demonstration in 1924 and some of his writings were banned from the mails (a practice that had been repeatedly upheld by the Supreme Court). The office of the National Civil Liberties Bureau, the predecessor to the ACLU, was also raided

by the federal government and all its files were seized. Following this raid, Baldwin served a year in jail for resisting the WWI draft. With characteristic humor he remarked after being released, "I am a graduate of Harvard, but a year in jail has helped me to recover from it."

While Baldwin later became obsessed with anti-communism (and led a purge of the ACLU in the late '40s and '50s) his extraordinary triumph was as an organizer and strategist. He perceived and organized the potential power of a labor-left coalition at a crucial point in our history. He deserves as much credit as anyone—including our "founding fathers"—for the concept of free speech that we usually take for granted and attribute to the constitution and the courts, but whose origins were much more recent and were the fruits of a long, bitter political struggle.

David Kairys practices law in Philadelphia and is local counsel for the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. He is the editor and co-author of a book on free speech law to be published by Pantheon in 1982.

PERSPECTIVES

To be alive in El Salvador today is to be half dead

By Renny Golden with
collaboration from Bob Stark

WE KNOW ABOUT THE dead—24,000. The latest counts of the murdered in El Salvador blare each night on TV. But what about the living, those, the Salvadoran poet Roque Dolton has called the half-dead? "To be a Salvadoran is to be half-dead the thing that moves is the half-lives they left us."

Of the nearly half-million refugees inside El Salvador, the daily fear is that the security forces will invade their camps in reprisal against the National Liberation Forces. The *New York Times* reported on July 6 that the Salvadoran army moved into a squalid camp of 2,000 refugees in La Bermuda, outside of San Salvador, loaded the people into trucks and put 300 children and 200 adults into a "two-story building that was, until recently, one of the country's major prisons." A Salvadoran captain said they were being moved for their own good. Other soldiers said, "The army wanted the refugees out because it was planning a search-and-destroy operation...and wanted the camp for a base." Four similar refugee assistance camps have been closed according to the legal aid office of the Archdiocese of San Salvador.

Oppression within El Salvador has driven many refugees to Honduras. But the "Peace Pact" signed between Honduras and El Salvador opened up the border areas to both armies, allowing Salvadoran army raids on Honduran refugee camps. There are reports of teenage boys taken by Salvadoran soldiers and never heard from again.

The most brutal example of the Honduran-Salvadoran pact to seal off the borders is the story of the Rio Sumpul massacre. There, at the river, both armies shot, used machetes, and machine-gunned 600 refugees attempting to cross the border. Although the Honduran and Salvadoran governments denied the inci-

dent, the mute river bore witness. The river was still red with blood when Fr. Earl Gallagher observed it. Days later the river yielded testimony to fishermen who caught dismembered babies in their nets.

Stories of the condition of sickness and near starvation in the Honduran border camps have been documented by the World Council of Churches' *Church World Service*. But the most touching testimony comes from Amnesty International's report of the response of the

ertheless, they will be closed, according to the Salvadoran minister of defense, who stated that the Salvadoran army, with the cooperation of the Honduran government, will soon begin moving the people out. And while this plan to displace 30,000 refugees from camps staffed by church and humanitarian aid groups unfolds, there are ominous leaks by the State Department of a new "White Paper" that fingers Oxfam, Catholic Relief Services and the World Council of Churches as conduits of aid, not to the refugees, but to the guerrillas. This is part of an attempt to clear the border areas of outside observers to army atrocities and to demoralize the populace further by closing off escape routes and refuge. The State Department's forthcoming White Paper rationalizes the Honduran-Salvadoran efforts to block humanitarian aid and presence.

Increasingly, Central American countries have refused acceptance of refugees. A year ago the minister of international relations of Belize stated that their country would take no more refugees. Salvadoran refugees entering Costa Rica at the Pena Blancas border town are returned to Nicaragua and the gov-

make their way through Honduras and Guatemala—an arduous trip in itself—while avoiding hostile security forces that could mean imprisonment or death. The refugees must then travel through Mexico and attempt to sneak across the U.S. border, no easy or safe task.

Detention and deportation greets the Salvadoran refugees at U.S. borders, should they be caught. Recent reports claim 70 percent of the illegal immigrants detained by some U.S. border patrols are Salvadorans. Deportation for Salvadorans, unlike most immigrants, means almost certain death. According to Salvadorans in Chicago, 40 of 60 Salvadorans deported last year disappeared immediately after entering the country and were found dead shortly thereafter.

For the refugees in this country who have outwitted the Immigration and Naturalization Service and avoided California's infamous El Centro detention camp, life remains a half-life. Two Salvadoran sisters, 17 and 18 year-olds who recently arrived in Chicago, told us the story of the daily life of refugees in our cities. They arrived here without winter clothes, housing, food, family or jobs. Fear of detection shapes every decision including how they enter elevated and subway stations, where INS harassment and arrests have occurred. Social relations are all but impossible either because of their fear of detection or unwillingness to jeopardize other refugees. Young women often work as domestics or factory workers where absolute acquiescence to the boss or family is essential to their safety. It means that sexual harassment must be borne submissively lest they lose a precious (by Salvadoran standards) assembly line job or worse still incur a threat to be reported to INS. The risk to themselves and their families in El Salvador stalks the refugees' actions and thoughts. "Nothing can erase," says Juana, "the daily knowledge that one's people are being slaughtered."

Nationally, religious groups and legal aid groups are mounting a campaign to demand voluntary departure status with employment authorization from the State Department. This is not full political refugee status but it can save lives. It is obvious that Salvadorans should be granted the right of political refugee status granted to Cubans, but many immigration lawyers feel the right will continue to be denied lest the State Department be forced to admit, by granting such a legal right, that the U.S. is supporting a murdering government that gravely endangers its citizens' lives. Thus, for refugees such as Juana, the nightmare continues.

Renny Golden and Bob Stark are members of the Chicago Religious Task Force on El Salvador.



El Salvador's abandoned La Bermuda refugee camp.

El Salvador's half-million internal refugees live in fear of reprisal.

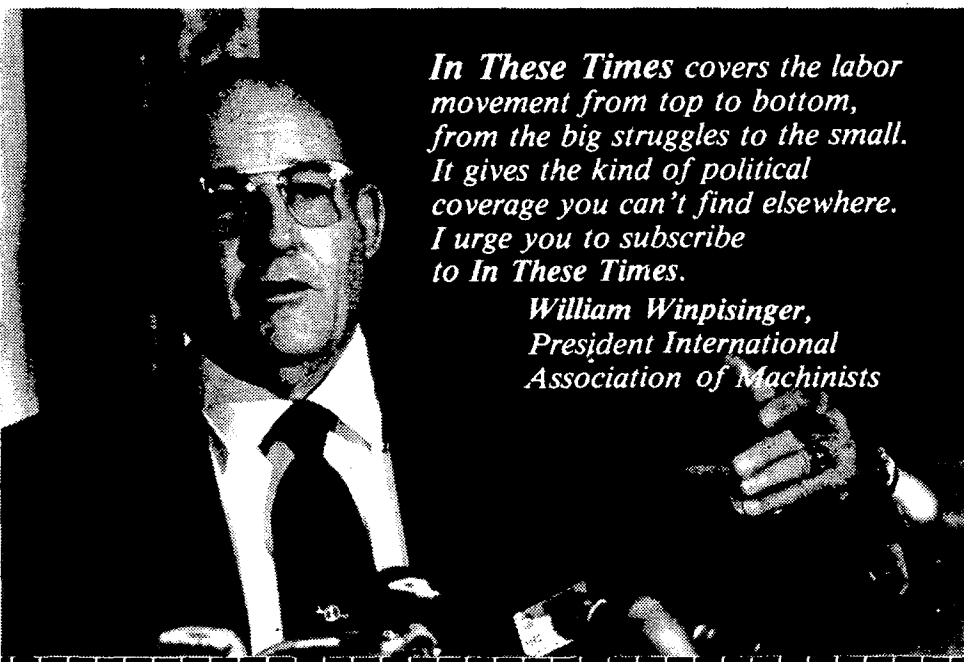
Honduran poor to the refugee's desperation. Honduras is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere outside of Haiti, yet families there tell of sharing food for cattle in order to feed refugees. The average diet for the 500 refugees concentrated in the Capalchia area of Honduras is one tortilla with salt a day.

Although the camps are dangerous, disease ridden, and without sufficient food, they still provide some haven. Nev-

ernment there is unwilling to grant Salvadorans formal refugee status.

Exodus has driven 70,000 Salvadorans to the U.S. In some cases the refugees with life savings from El Salvador can pay a guide, a "coyote," to shepherd them through Central America to the U.S. The cost of the trip is from \$2,000 to \$3,000 and lasts two to three weeks.

The journey from El Salvador to the U.S. border is hazardous. Refugees must



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William Winpisinger,
President International
Association of Machinists

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Ten years ago at Attica, prisoners rebelled against oppressive conditions and seized control of the prison. Gov. Nelson Rockefeller refused to meet with their representatives and ordered in troops. As a result, 43 prisoners and guards were killed, dozens were injured and the facility was near to ruin.

PERSPECTIVES

More prisons will not deter crime

By Peter Pollak

TRAVELING AT NIGHT IN vans, shackled hand and foot, several hundred prisoners of the state of New York have been transported this summer to the Attica Correctional Facility, the maximum security prison that was the site ten years ago this month of a riot that was terminated by state police gunfire when negotiations broke down. The new arrivals, more than 300 since June 1, bring the population at Attica to almost 2,000 inmates, well above the cap of 1,700 set by state officials in the aftermath of the 1971 rebellion.

Attica has not been forgotten by inmates in New York's prisons. It is still considered one of the hardest places in the state to do time, largely because of its inaccessibility and the hostile attitudes of guards from the local community.

In 1971, 2,300 inmates were stuffed into a facility built for 1,600. The major grievances included poor medical care, the brutality of the guards, lack of rehabilitative education and vocational programs, a diet both lacking in fresh fruit and overly dependent on pork, lack of religious freedom—particularly for Black Muslims—and the lack of black and Spanish-speaking personnel. Of the 380 guards at Attica in 1971, there were no blacks and only one Puerto Rican.

During the early '70s, inmates at several prisons throughout the nation had presented lists of grievances to their wardens and state officials. In most cases the petitioners were punished as "revolutionaries" for their trouble. Angry over such an incident, the inmates of A block at Attica assaulted an officer on the morning of Sept. 9, 1971. They overpowered several guards and gained control of a crucial portion of the facility. Soon the riot spread throughout the prison and 39 guards were taken hostage.

What followed were three days of bargaining, made public by the assembly of well-known individuals as "observers." The observers, along with TV cameras,

entered the captured prison yard and helped the inmate leaders carry their message to the world. Negotiations broke down on the issue of amnesty, and the observers' desire to avoid bloodshed collapsed when Governor Rockefeller refused to meet with them at the prison. Instead a gun-blazing takeover was ordered at the expense of hostage-guards and inmates alike.

After the rebellion some changes in policy were made. Mail censorship and visiting rules were relaxed. Funds were also found to meet other inmate grievances. Better medical and dental equipment was purchased and the staffing improved; new shop equipment was added and the educational offerings were expanded.

Yet, as David Level of Prisoners Legal Services points out, medical equipment is not sufficient in the absence of health standards, and many inmates still complain of not receiving proper treatment. Idleness is still a major problem, particularly as the system is above capacity, and wages, another grievance ten years ago, are lower today in real dollars than they were then: the pay scale of 25¢ to \$1 a day has been increased to only 45¢ to \$1.25 a day.

Why have sections of Attica closed for years been reopened this summer? Aren't corrections officials afraid that by filling the prison above capacity they are risking another deadly confrontation?

This summer's influx was the result of a court-ordered transfer of state-ready prisoners from New York City's Rikers Island, caused by a general overcrowding crisis in the state's prison system, a crisis that New York shares with at least half the states in the country.

Last month the Reagan administration made known its intention to aid states that wish to build new correctional facilities (see editorial, Aug. 26). Coupled with recommendations for harsher measures to deal with violent crime, an attorney general's task force called for a four-year, \$2 billion federal assistance program to the states. Coming when federal cutbacks will exacerbate conditions in those communities where most

of the crimes are committed, these policies support the contention that "internal security" is the president's domestic program.

Federal assistance to the states fits into building programs already begun. Various states now plan to add more than 160,000 cells to their prison systems, this at a time when 550,000 persons—more than ever before—are already doing time.

Reagan's get-tough-on-crime policies are being sold as a correction for years of leniency toward criminals. But in fact, for the last decade the state and federal government have lengthened sentences, established mandatory prison terms and brought younger people under the adult criminal code.

Since 1973, the prison incarceration rate has risen along with the crime rate, without providing evidence that imprisonment deters crime. The number of people we lock up in prison has risen from a low of 84 persons per 100,000 in the early '70s to the current 132 per 100,000 and when those already in jails are included, the national incarceration rate comes to 244 per 100,000—a ratio that surpasses every industrial nation except South Africa and the Soviet Union.

Not only are we jailing people as fast as ever, but we're also still primarily lock-

day, black males, who account for only 5.4 percent of our total population, represent 45.7 percent of our prisoners.

Prisons have accomplished few of the purposes assigned to them since the inception of their use in the early 19th century. The central message of the 1,500 inmates who "liberated" Attica in 1971 was that prisons are brutal, degrading places that send people back into society often more hardened than chastened.

A recent study, "American Prisons and Jails," by the National Institute of Justice, reached conclusions that, if taken seriously, should disturb those who think that prisons will protect society. A major conclusion based on projections of population trends is that once built, prisons and jails will be kept full. In several states the rate of incarceration has increased to match the space made available through constructing new prisons.

In their analysis of the incarceration rate increase of the '70s, the researchers found that rather than persons convicted of major violent offenses, the new inmates were persons convicted of property and public disorder crime. Prior to the law-and-order campaign these persons might have been assigned to probation, a sanction that some experts believe results in a lower recidivism rate.

The get-tough policies began in New York with the Rockefeller drug laws in 1973. While imposing draconian sentences on persons convicted on drug charges, these laws also contained a provision requiring mandatory imprisonment for all repeat offenders. This, coupled with laws requiring longer minimum sentences, has created the current overcrowding.

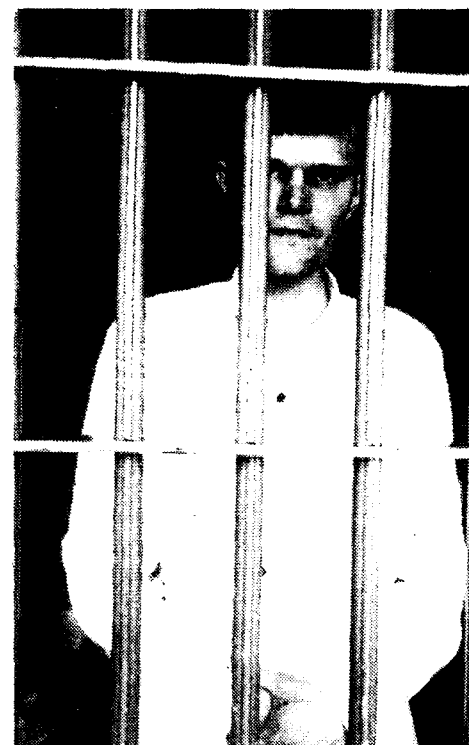
But as David Rothenberg, executive director of the Fortune Society, an organization that works with ex-offenders, and one of the two dozen who made up the 1971 observers group, says, "Nothing of substance has changed in New York's prisons." People are still leaving the prisons lacking in basic skills and ill-prepared for life on the streets.

"Society has two choices," Rothenberg states to those who argue that rehabilitation is an unachievable goal, "either we continue to live in fear or we begin to address ourselves to the people we are sending to prison."

What can be done? Rothenberg calls for a variety of programs, including "meaningful literacy programs" and diagnostic and treatment centers for those who have a record of recidivism or violent crimes. However, he argues, little can be hoped for as long as all we do is lock people up.

Peter Pollak is Good Time Project Coordinator for the New York Coalition for Criminal Justice. The Coalition, a citizen-based criminal justice organization, is located at 362 State St., Albany, N.Y. 12210. Phone (518) 436-9222.

But they will train criminals.



ing up people who are poor and dark-skinned. Significantly our prisons are even blacker today than they were at the time of the Attica uprising. The incarceration rate for blacks nationwide rose from 368 to 544 per 100,000 between 1973 and 1979. The comparable rate for whites was 46 in 1973 and 65 in 1979. To-

HISTORY

Uncovering a little-known Ike

The Declassified Eisenhower: A Divided Legacy
By Blanche Wiesen Cook
Doubleday, \$17.95, 432 pp.

By William Burr

It is ironic that socialists and Marxists are the ones who have helped salvage the historic reputation of Dwight D. Eisenhower and Herbert Hoover, two of our smartest and most class-conscious chief executives. In the first scholarly analysis based on extensive use of recently declassified Eisenhower papers, Blanche Wiesen Cook challenges the view of Eisenhower as a passive, bland and thoughtless president whose chief interests were golfing and bridge. Cook's important and stimulating book presents "Ike" as an extremely clever, able and astute political leader whose principled commitment to corporate capitalism and world peace led him to pursue political warfare, a sophisticated

foreign economic policy and an early effort at detente.

Like William A. Williams, the pioneer of the "revisionists" view of Hoover, Cook has received scornful and pedantic criticism from the establishment press. One or two errors of fact can be found in this book and its editor should have done more to prune a sometimes rhetorical style. But what is more important is what Cook has to say about the character of Eisenhower's political leadership and the social purpose that informed his statesmanship.

The Declassified Eisenhower illustrates the process by which the men who organize capitalist society shape our political leaders. Although he came from a decidedly non-elite background, Ike was a willing "victim" of a scheme by corporate chieftains attracted by his popularity as a military leader and intent on grooming him for the presidency.

Corporate leaders and ideologues, such as Henry Wriston

of the Council on Foreign Relations, "Pete" Jones of Cities Service, Phillip D. Reed of General Electric, educated Eisenhower to the corporate point of view and helped him make the right social and financial connections as a base for the presidency. In a fascinating account, Cook shows that these men feared that without Eisenhower any Democrat could win in 1952 and with that victory continue the deficit spending policies that dampened business confidence.

Though the businessmen eagerly sought out Ike, he was no pawn or political opportunist. Cook shows that he conceived of his own purpose as educating the American capitalist class to a broader social responsibility.

Like his business mentors, Ike rejected the New Deal "excesses" that he thought undermined private accumulation. But he recognized that the preservation of business institutions depended on keeping "stupid" reactionaries at bay and offering needed reforms (e.g., in 1954 he presented Congress with a program of national health insurance in order to give the people "hope" and to immunize them from the attractions of socialism). Thus through a mildly reformist capitalist "middle way," Eisenhower sought prosperity and stability based on a progressively expanding corporate-industrial system.

Cooperation or suicide.

Cook stresses the crucial importance of foreign economic policy to Eisenhower's program for an "American Century" although he tends to exaggerate his role.

In Ike's view, government assistance for American investment was essential to solve domestic economic problems, raise living standards abroad and make the "free world" an attractive alternative to socialism. As a strong liberal internationalist, he assumed that failure by the industrial capitalist nations to cooperate would fulfill Lenin's prophecy of internecine capitalist conflict.

Cook does not develop the commercial and monetary policy aspects of Ike's analysis of the need for a community of interest system. But she gives the reader an excellent sense of the seriousness with which Eisenhower and his colleagues pursued programs of tax reform, soft loans, technical assistance and investment guarantees to create a proper in-

son (whom Cook rescues from obscurity) from pursuing a program to "liberate" Eastern Europe.

Ike's larger international objectives, however, thwarted his goal of making a settlement with the Russians. At the Camp David summit in 1959 neither Khrushchev or Eisenhower could come to terms without sacrificing other basic goals. The only concession that Eisenhower was willing to offer was the mutual cessation of atomic tests, at a time when the strategic balance overwhelmingly favored the U.S. Khrushchev could only reject that proposal, just as Eisenhower would not accept a Russian proposal that amounted to a reversal of the long-standing U.S. policy of "encircling" the USSR through a ring of military bases and alliances. Conflicting strategic imperatives defied men of good will. At the end of his administration Eisenhower was genuinely frustrated by the fact that he had only reached "the brink of peace."

Ike was a pacifist for the nuclear era, but peacekeeping also meant covert action.

vestment "climate." She also rightly insists on the strongly anti-nationalist implications of Eisenhower's foreign economic policy. In the administration view, third world countries no less than other industrial capitalist states were obliged to define their development needs in terms of the imperatives of an international investment system.

Following this restricted definition of national self-determination, the Eisenhower administration routinely developed elaborate political warfare campaigns to enforce the U.S. rules of the game. In an absorbing two-chapter study of the 1954 Guatemala incident, Cook illustrates the Eisenhower approach to counterinsurgency. Her analysis demonstrates the essentially moderate character of President Arbenz' reform program and the covert CIA campaign to subvert his democratically elected government. She allows that the expropriation of United Fruit properties set off CIA activity but insists that the real target was not "Communism" but an outbreak of economic nationalism in a politically restive Latin America. This "model" of counterinsurgency did not really settle the issue—U.S. action left an enduring legacy of violence and spurred the determination of revolutionary nationalists such as Che Guevara to develop a "mobilization of the whole people" to protect the gains of social change.

The pacifist cold warrior.

Eisenhower's struggle against "Communism" did not include a desire for confrontation with the USSR. Cook emphasizes that his wartime experience and his analysis of the futility of general war in the nuclear era led him to a deeply felt and genuine desire for world peace. Thus Eisenhower successfully avoided war and drew back from action that threatened to raise the level of tensions. For example, in the interest of keeping the peace, Ike restrained his zealous psychological warfare adviser C.D. Jack-

The failure of summitry left Eisenhower with the policy of "armed peace" with which he had begun his administration. But as Cook points out, unlike his predecessor Truman and in striking contrast to today's Republicans, he rejected huge increases in military spending. Ike insisted that military spending conform to the priority of domestic economic stability and that the pursuit of national security not bankrupt the nation.

But like his effort to reach an agreement with the USSR, other objectives tended to undermine the effort to balance "security" with financial stability and solvency. His policy of protecting an international investment system through military aid and a large overseas military presence contributed to the serious balance of payments deficits that have caused domestic and international financial difficulties since the late 1950s.

The long-range costs.

The Declassified Eisenhower shows that Ike's "divided legacy" has included balance of payments problems but also the further sacrifice of domestic economic equity and stability through the relentless effort to internationalize U.S. corporate capital. Not only was the domestic economy weakened, but also the expansion of executive branch authority to manage the "free enterprise" empire has meant the erosion of representative institutions at home (and abroad). The Reaganites appear to be willing heirs to that side of Eisenhower's legacy. But his commitment, though flawed by cold war objectives, to restraining the military and to conciliation between the great powers is a worthier inheritance that the current Republican leadership may ignore at our peril.

William Burr is completing his dissertation on U.S. policy towards Western European reconstruction, 1947-1950 for a degree in history at Northern Illinois University.



On the record

For anyone who was listening, Ike's opinions came through clearly. Here are some of his remarks that refute the stereotype of the Eisenhower presidency:

- "Should any political party attempt to abolish social security, unemployment insurance and eliminate labor laws and farm programs, you would not hear of that party again in our political history. There is a

tiny splinter group, of course, that believes you can do these things.... Their number is negligible and they are stupid." (1954)

- "I want to give businessmen an honorable place but they make crooks of themselves." (1956)

- "We are rapidly getting to the point that no war can be WON. War implies a contest; when you get to the point that the outlook comes close to destruction of the enemy and suicide for ourselves...then arguments as to the exact amount

of available strength as compared to somebody else's are no longer the vital issues." (1956)

- "I want to wage the cold war in a militant but reasonable style." (1957)

- "Daily I am impressed by the shortsightedness bordering upon tragic stupidity of many who fancy themselves to be the greatest believers in...capitalism...but who blindly support measures and conditions that cannot fail in the long run to destroy the free economic system." (1953)

PHOTOGRAPHY

Japan's dark modernity

A Century of Japanese
Photography

Japan Photographers Association
Pantheon, \$47.50, 400 pp.,
514 photos.

By Jon Spayde

When the Japanese translated "photograph" and "photography" in the 1860s, they coined a word that makes an ambitious claim for the medium: *shashin*, literally "renders the real." The first images in this book demonstrate a revolutionary reality in the portraits of grim-faced, two-sworded, very young men. They are the activists of the Meiji Res-

Ueno Hikoma, Japan's pioneer photographer of the 1860s, pays a far more complex homage to a live tradition in his three-panel view of Nagasaki harbor. It is done in the style of the *Nagasaki-e*, woodblock prints that used vistas of the cosmopolitan port to experiment with Western-style perspective. This tradition, combined with copperplate etching and oil painting among Japan's tiny community of "Dutch-scholars" (specialists in European studies), laid the groundwork for new styles of seeing after the opening of the country. Since daguerrotypy and photography themselves first emerged among the Dutch-schol-

executed during the Japanese "protectorate," victims of local famine and then of nuclear fire.

Esthetes and prophets.

But these fierce images of the harvest-festival of imperialism don't come to the heart of the fascination this book exerts over a non-Japanese, given our imprecise sense of Japanese modernity.

The landscape of this book is dotted with ruins and Bauhaus buildings, where esthetes and cops and stand-up comics, army officers, prophets and guys driving ice-trucks mingle on city streets.

The "fine-art" mode in pre-war photography, which got underway some 30 years later than "pictorialism" in Europe, is well-represented. By the '20s, Japanese photographers were working in all the subject genres and techniques known to the Stieglitz circle, including the notorious gum-bichromate process, which allowed extreme "painterly" effects. Many of the landscapes of this period seem to strive to reproduce Japanese oil paintings of the early 20th century, the work of painters like Kuroda Seiki and Ishii Hakutei, in which a radical-impressionist, almost pointillist, technique is combined with great emotional reserve.

In the rainy, grainy, black-and-white of the photos, however, that reserve deepens into a mysterious melancholy. In portraits a lateral distortion, a



Portrait (Nojima Kozo, 1932).

film technique merged with broad social awareness in a self-confident esthetic, and movies that were both fully modern and truly Japanese could be made by Ozu, Mizoguchi and others. Photographers in Japan call this same era the Period of Development, and, on the evidence of this book, the same thing happened among them.

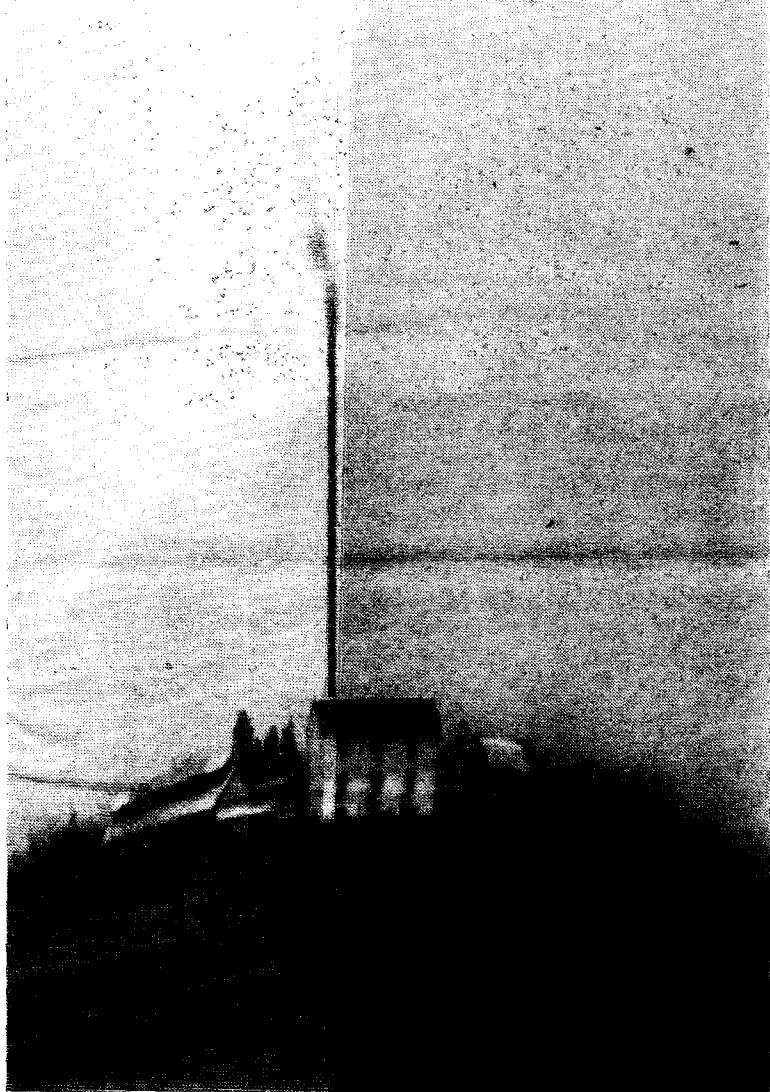
The rather precious images of the first avant-gardists yield to photos full of rough energy.

graphy fuse as they did in '30s America, yet the visual result is quite different: the Japanese eye stubbornly retains a certain Expressionism. Having had no Edward Weston to clarify and white-light their images, the Japanese gather more darkness into the frame. Shadows play over and obscure parts of faces. Instead of the light-sculpted permanence of Dorothea Lange or Walker Evans people, we see street actors, tradesmen and factory hands snapped, trapped by the shutter, but hurrying elsewhere, often into darkness. There is much nervous humanity and very little heroism.

Kimura Ihe-e's career in the last decade of the Japanese Empire was sadly typical of the trajectory of most wartime intellectuals and artists. He made a prizewinning newspaper ad (in the "proletarian" manner) for Kao Soap, and, finally, a propaganda photomontage designed to sell Japanese imperialism abroad. It is a collection of tourist icons: Fuji, geisha, the Big Buddha, in a soft-focus style of stupefying banality.

A Century of Japanese Photography is full of major and minor tragedy, but also of exhilaration born of its human and intellectual variety and its disrespect for every "official" image of Japan. It is an English version of a 1971 original assembled by the Japan Photographic Association. Pantheon has wisely retained the JPA order and layout throughout, so that what we are getting is a sophisticated and politically progressive Japanese vision of the heritage of Japanese modernity.

Jon Spayde works for a Japanese firm in San Francisco and writes on cultural subjects for several publications.



Left: Scene with factory (Takayama Toshio, 1930).
Below: Samurai with attendant (1853-1867).



stretching-sideways of the face (characteristic of the influential '20s painter Kishida Ryusei), creates images that really haunt the viewer. In both landscapes and portraits there is a sense of something very dark.

Something very dark came, of course. But not before a curious and vivid flowering of the Japanese urban sensibility during the '30s. Noel Burch, in *To The Distant Observer*, has called the '30s the true golden age of the Japanese cinema. In those years

Photographers like Kimura Ihe-e turn to proletarian and lumpen subjects, and he and others travel to the "protectorate" of Manchuria to experiment with the visual potential of vast, flat space and railway speed. Areas of soft-focus appear in Kimura's fine portraits, not for painterly effect or to induce a "mood," but to impart something of the intellectual energy of his subjects, members of the pre-war intelligentsia.

Documentary and art photo-

tation, who were at that moment changing Japan forever. Some of them are wearing brass-buttoned tunics or holding fat Navy Colt revolvers.

To turn over the pages of this stunning retrospective of the photographic art of Imperial Japan (1846-1946) is to be compelled into a storm of change: geographic, demographic, intellectual, moral, economic, emotional; and to watch the birth of new and oddly-shaped realities, caught and interpreted by every kind of Japanese eye: the journalist's, the elegist's, the left documentarist's, the artist's, the surrealist's, the propagandist's, the advertiser's.

As historian John Dower points out, in a vigorous introduction, the camera came to Japan just in time to record the face of feudalism - the sunburned, stupefied face of a samurai's parasol bearer, and the rigid jaw that turns his young master's face into a mask of authority. For foreign consumption, commercial photographers in Tokyo and the treaty ports made tamely lurid hand-tints depicting titillating barbarities like ladies' baths and *hara-kiri*.

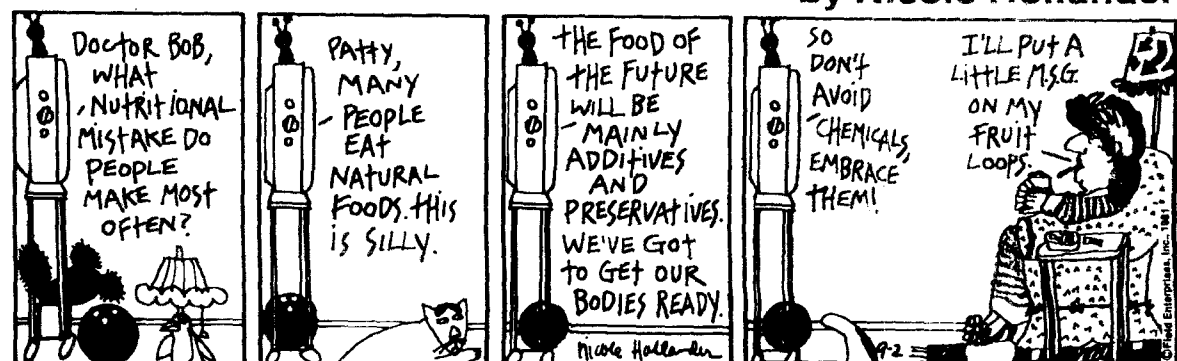
ars, this vast photograph is a clever tribute to Ueno's intellectual forebears.

There are other traditions upon which the camera trains its eye: Buddhist sculpture (handsome photos made during the first tide of Japanese nationalism in the late '80s and early '90s; portraits of beautiful women (*bi jin-ga*), which first became popular in woodblock among the 17th-century bourgeoisie; rural rituals photographed (brilliantly) under the banner of national-policy populism between 1940 and 1944.

But a truer symbol of the collection is Shiina Sukemasa's study of a solar eclipse, taken in 1894, the year that the Meiji armies first invaded the Asian continent to fight China. It is the famous rising sun, but done white-on-black like a melancholic parody of the Japanese flag. And a piece of the sun is broken away.

This ill omen presides over countless pictures of distress and disaster: bricks, broken architecture, severed heads and scorched bodies, a ditchful of Russian corpses in Manchuria, the hanged bodies of Korean nationalists

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

TELEVISION

The cop series so good it pays to pay attention



The series stresses relationships among co-workers (above, Kiel Martin and Taurean Black as undercover cops, talking to Michael Warren as an officer.)

By Susan Figliulo

To get right to the point, NBC's *Hill Street Blues* is the best series now on TV. *Hill Street Blues* is to police work as *Lou Grant* is to newspapers: a well-researched, reasonably honest, compassionate attempt to portray reality.

The notoriously timid networks are quick to praise such programs, and just as quick to cancel them. But, despite its terrible ratings, NBC is bringing *Hill Street Blues* back for the coming fall season. And the show has just received a staggering 21 Emmy nominations—more than any comedy or dramatic series has ever gotten.

Hill Street Blues takes place in the precinct house of a gang-ridden neighborhood, the worst area of a decaying Northern city. The show's 13 regular characters include the precinct hierarchy—beat cops, detectives, sergeants and the captain, assorted lawyers and one ex-wife.

The opening credits, shot in Chicago and other cities, set the scene, following a battered patrol car as it drives through the city's bleak, snowy streets, cruising and watching. Nothing much

happens. It's the day-in, day-out grind of being a cop—which, the usual TV portrayal to the contrary, consists about half the time of filling out forms.

Obviously, this isn't the easiest way to make exciting TV. *Hill Street Blues* depends for its action on the random violence that really happens every day, and on the relationships among

its many characters, who change and develop like real people.

For example: the precinct's commander, Capt. Frank Furillo (Emmy nominee Daniel J. Travanti), was a little too perfect—perpetually calm in his three-piece suit—until, in a recent episode, we learned he's a recovered alcoholic. His former wife, Fay (Barbara Bosson, also an Emmy

nominee), was shrill and hysterical in early episodes. She's begun to calm down, and like real ex-spouses raising a child, the Furillos are trying to fight less and talk more.

Many of the characters on *Hill Street Blues* are developed through the give-and-take of partnerships: those involving the cops, who must trust each other with their lives, and between lovers, trying to make time for each other. Each episode touches on four or five stories, most of them not resolved within the hour.

In the style Robert Altman elevated to art, the dialogue contains snatches of many conversations and sometimes is hard to understand. The show demands concentration: if you don't pay attention, you won't be able to follow.

The numbers are bad.

That's partly why *Hill Street Blues* gets lousy ratings. Another reason is its network's demographics. NBC's ratings overall are terrible. Its strongest show is *Real People*, and it tends to attract non-urban, older viewers—not the people looking to watch an hour of cops in the slums.

Finally, there's the scheduling problem. When the show premiered last January, NBC engineered an oddball twice-weekly schedule that placed *Hill Street Blues* in two suicidal time slots—Thursday opposite newsmagazine *20/20* and sleazy soap *Knots Landing*, and Saturday against the enormously popular *Fantasy Island*. After a couple of months it was moved to 9 p.m. Tuesday, where the competition wasn't so fierce. For this fall, the show comes to rest at 9 p.m. Thursday, with new episodes starting Nov. 3.

Though critics displayed a rare enthusiasm for the show's fine acting and writing, *Hill Street*

Blues was lucky to be renewed for next year. A stroke of luck—in the person of Grant Tinker, newly appointed chairman of NBC-TV—has brightened the program's future. Before Tinker replaced Fred (Charlie's Angels) Silverman at NBC, he was head of MTM Productions, which is named for his former wife, Mary Tyler-Moore. MTM is commercial TV's classiest production company, having successfully nurtured shows like *Lou Grant*, *WKRP in Cincinnati*, *Rhoda*—and *Hill Street Blues*.

Tinker believes in giving a good show time to build an audience, as CBS did for *All in the Family* and *Mary Tyler Moore*, two of its most beloved programs. He clearly hopes *Hill Street Blues* will follow that pattern.



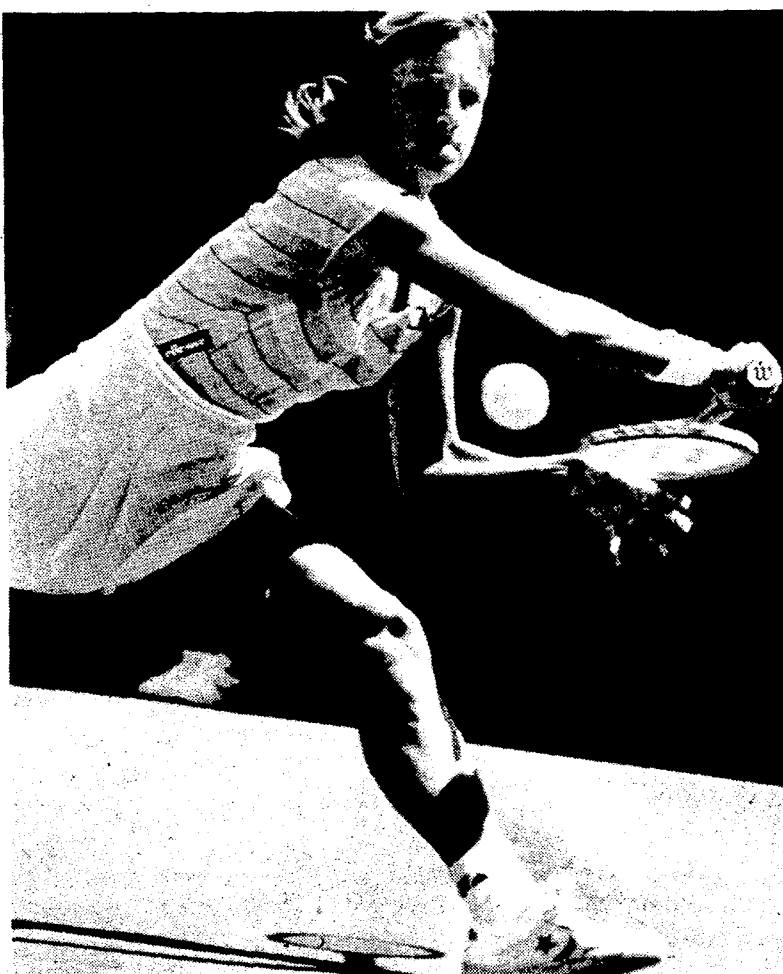
Furillo (right) has an unnatural calm.

Hill Street Blues is the rarest kind of show—one that not only leaves viewers wanting more, but feeling that an episode has been a slice of life, that the characters and their lives go on—even when the camera isn't watching.

Susan Figliulo is a journalist who works for the Chicago Sun-Times.

SPORTS

An angry fan's seasonal notes



Tennis (above, Chris Evert Lloyd) is 98 percent white and 100 percent silver spoon.

By Lee Ballinger

In the third week of training camp, Willie Tullis of the Houston Oilers was told that his brief fling at quarterback was over. He was moved to cornerback. In other words, he was shifted from a white position to a black one. Tullis is black, an eighth-round pick from Troy (Ala.) State. Now he is stacked with other blacks in the secondary where he hopes to win a job and avoid another position dominated by minorities: the unemployment line.

Meanwhile, quarterback Pete Woods has never taken a snap in the NFL but has picked up by four teams in three years. What do they see in Pete? Is it something that's easier to discern with his helmet off? Why isn't John Walton around anymore? Why do so many black quarterbacks have to go to Canada to make it?

The success of Doug Williams and Vince Evans does not signal a trend. Everyone knows that they must consistently perform at an above-average level or they will quickly become fish food for the trivia tank. The

treatment of Willie Tullis and Joe "747" Adams are much more typical. Adams set numerous NCAA passing records at Tennessee State, yet was only a twelfth-round pick. (Neil Lomax came out of totally obscure Portland State as a second-round pick.) Adams wasn't even in camp long enough to sing his school song at the training table.

There is an additional strike against Doug Williams. Not only is he black, he's Southern. Not only is he Southern, he's country. His accent is so thick that he gets a low priority for interviews and is useless to advertisers for commercials. This is not just a question of being black, though. How many whites from the Deep South do you see in commercials? (Catfish Hunter, on occasion, and...?) No national advertiser is interested in the huge but poverty-stricken market of the rural South, black or white. If we have to endure a black quarterback, the networks mutter, let him at least be like Sugar Ray Leonard and cross over to the white market, er...Northern market.

• The city of Youngstown, Ohio, has seen its tax base evaporate as mill after mill banked its

**HILL STREET
BLUES is busy
snapping up
awards and
critics' favor,
but its lousy
ratings imperil
its future.**

THEATER

Political satire thrives in U.K.

By Joel Schechter

Margaret Thatcher is regarded as a joke by hundreds of Londoners at a West End theater. She, or rather her impersonator, whom the London *Guardian* calls "better than the real thing," nightly fails to govern her household in a farce called *Anyone for Denis?* (A facsimile of her husband, Denis, also appears in the play.)

Derived from a series of columns in the satirical journal *Private Eye*, the play shows Mrs. Thatcher at home, entertaining her husband's drunken friends, whom she mistakes for diplomats. The comic premise of *Anyone for Denis?* is that Prime Minister Thatcher acts the same (insensitively but with equanimity) at home as in public. This premise was not contradicted by her applause the night she saw the play. She smiled for photographers after the show, but the Tory leader must have winced during the performance when, for example, her double on stage commented on the origins of London's summer riots: "Mindless hooligans motivated by greed—that's no way to talk about the Tory Party."

While such satire will hardly force the Prime Minister to resign, it exercises almost magical fascination over audiences and politicians in England. Satire of prime ministers was popular in London as early as 1728, when John Gay ridiculed Sir Robert Walpole in *The Beggar's Opera*. Walpole visited Gay's play and applauded its references to government corruption; he then

furnaces forever. This summer the city's seven swimming pools were open for just six weeks, instead of the normal 13. Meanwhile, the pools at U.S. military bases in Georgia, Texas, Puerto Rico and Panama remain open. Schools in Baltimore have cut athletic budgets for the coming year while increasing the allocation for Junior ROTC.

• Now for the really important question of our time: How many lesbians are there on the pro tennis circuit? A recent edition of the *Washington Post* devoted more space to the departure of Martina Navratilova's lady lover from their million-dollar Virginia retreat than to the air controllers' strike. And by now we know more about Billie Jean King than we were ever afraid to ask.

All this nonsense blurs the obvious facts about what kind of people are on the tennis tour. Ninety-eight percent white and 100 percent silver spoon. A couple of months ago I flew from Pittsburgh to New York on an exceptionally clear day. I saw tennis courts everywhere until I got to New York City where I didn't see any. I did see some flat spaces that resembled tennis courts where a strange game was played where you try to throw a smooth ball through a bare hoop bent down at a 45 degree angle. I guess there's just no accounting for taste.

• Would you be willing to check off \$1 from your next tax return to finance the U.S. Olympi-

banned Gay's next play, *Polly*, and instituted a theater censorship law in 1737.

The traditional audience for this satire includes not only the politicians satirized, but also the middle and upper classes whose aspirations the politicians claim to represent. One imagines that many of the well-dressed, sophisticated spectators attending *Anyone for Denis?* voted for Mrs. Thatcher. Seeing their leader as a beleaguered housewife in a domestic farce allows these spectators to feel she is no smarter, and no more in control of everyday life than they are; the evening is democracy in action, as satire reduces a high government official to the level of the electorate, or lower.

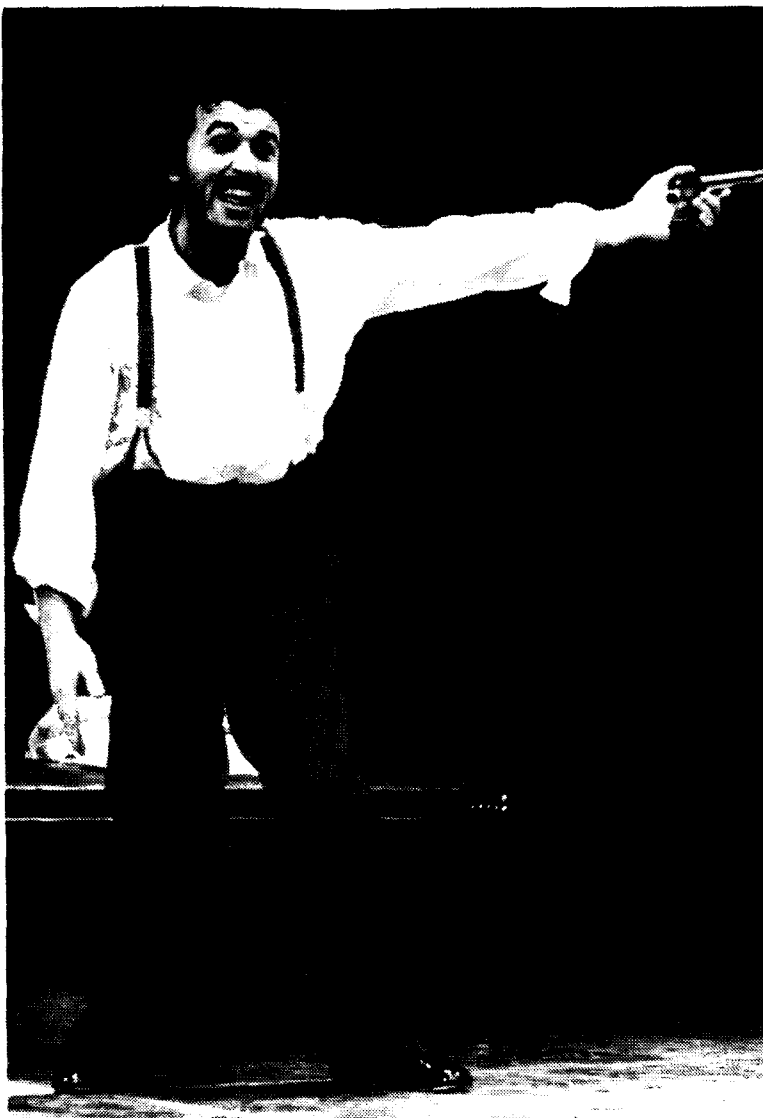
One clue to the popularity of live political satire in England is offered by Dario Fo's *Accidental Death of an Anarchist*, an anti-authoritarian farce that has played for over a year to young, alternative culture audiences on the West End. (Three adaptations of the Italian satirist's plays ran simultaneously in London last summer.) The play takes place in a police station, where a clownish maniac impersonating a high court judge tells the police that his hobby is "the theater of reality, so my fellow artists must be real people, unaware that they are acting in my productions, which is handy, as you see, I've got no cash to pay them." The law officers and the audience off-stage willingly become this masterful charlatan's co-conspirators, his "fellow artists," as he winks at both groups in turn, confides his impostures to listeners, and asks them to ap-

provement? Personally, I'd rather see the corporate vultures such as Mobil who are already circling Los Angeles foot the bill. And if I did give a dollar, I'd like to be sure it would go to help our athletes and not to line the pockets of the contractors for whose benefit the modern Olympics are staged. But I'm willing to be reasonable. I will check off a dollar if in return the federal government will deduct one dollar from the military aid it dispenses so freely to Latin America.

The events of July 30, 1981, showed just what kind of sport the U.S. government is interested in financing with our money:

On the afternoon of that day the Las Lajas soccer team was making its way home to the town of Armenia in El Salvador. Stopped at a roadblock by soldiers of the junta, an argument developed between one of the players and a soldier. The dispute culminated in a fistfight but eventually the team was able to proceed home without further incident. That night government troops, working from a list, entered Armenia and murdered the entire team and many of their relatives. Final score: U.S.-financed Troops, 42; Las Lajas, 0.

Excerpted from *In Your Face! America's Blue-collar Sportsletter* (Box 1041, Warren, OH 44485, monthly \$6 individuals, \$12 institutions). Lee Ballinger is an Ohio steelworker.



Gavin Richards plays an imposter in Dario Fo's *ACCIDENTAL DEATH OF AN ANARCHIST* which played for a year in London.

prove of his disguises. The buffoon's need for audience acceptance of his impersonations is complemented by his on-stage and off-stage witnesses' desire to be part of a political conspiracy, to hear secrets of state whispered aloud. The spontaneous and intimate sense of conspiracy between the satirist and his audience cannot be achieved by him on electronic media as easily as on stage, in person.

Looking inward.

London audiences are far more receptive to foreign and homebred satire than theatergoers in the United States. Some 15 years ago Americans were drawn to Barbara Garson's caricature of Lyndon Johnson as Macbeth in *Macbird*, but that event was an exception to an unfortunate, unwritten rule: mainstream American theater rarely investigates political issues satirically or seriously. Our leading playwrights and their audiences prefer to look inward, at private lives and family histories, so that from O'Neill's *Long Day's Journey into Night* to Miller's *Death of a Salesman*, through Albee's *Virginia Woolf* and Sam Shepard's *Buried Child*, America's playwrights have been praised for writing artful domestic melodramas.

Political issues are examined by leftist theater ensembles like the San Francisco Mime Troupe and New York's Caravan and Labor Theaters, but America's left has yet to develop nationally prominent, highly visible socialist playwrights comparable with Bond, Brenton, Churchill, Edgar, Griffiths and Hare in England.

When these socialists set public life on stage, they frequently do so to wrest the power of theater away from politicians, who use theater themselves. Edward Bond, one of England's most gifted writers, noted last July how those in power use theater. He said the Royal Wedding of Charles and Diana, "the marriage of two millionaires," was being "used for intensely political purposes—one of the most political pieces of street

theater staged in London this year. It is a celebration of the ruling class...used to obscure the reality of the abuse of power."

Bond counters these official images of power with imagery of his own. One of his recent plays, *The Worlds*, received its professional premiere in London last summer. *The Worlds* concerns the kidnapping of a wealthy corporate executive during an industrial strike in England. While not satirical as a whole, Bond's script employs a satirist's technique, capturing a powerful person (as do the play's kidnappers) and forcing him to speak on stage. Respectful images of the wealthy corporate world are tarnished by acid, anti-corporate humor.

Instead of paying the ransom demanded for a kidnapped executive named Trench, his board of trustees prefers to see him killed, so it can replace the chairman with a younger member of the board. When Trench escapes his captors unharmed, the board has to fire him. Trench's realization that the company wanted him killed drives the executive mad, into lucidly crazed prophecies of ruling class treachery, division and war. Trench warns his board members: "Cut-throats like you

will take over the world! You stab me in the back and say it's so I don't have to shoulder worries....My god, terrorists stand things on their head. Turn values upside down. But the police go after them. You do it and vote yourself a raise. You don't rob a bank, you have a cheque book!"

Lizard's revenge.

Further opposition to images of wealth and abusive power was introduced last summer in a satiric science fiction thriller, *War with the Newts*. Staged by Ken Campbell and the Everyman Theater of Liverpool, the play sides with giant salamanders in their revolt against repressive human masters. The script, adapted by Kenny Murray from Karel Capek's 1939 novel of the same title, calls for three actors swimming around a pool in rubbery newt suits, as well as six TV monitors on which incidents in the war can be seen. In mock documentary, episodic form, *War with the Newts* caricatures England's leading politicians, celebrities and talk show hosts, as it both ridicules and pays homage to the society of spectacle fostered by electronic broadcasting.

Actors address themselves half to the video cameras on stage, half to spectators seated around them on bleachers. At one point Prince Charles and Diana show their talk show host how to play water polo while riding newts named Olivia and John. (Their splashing drove spectators away from front row seats.) Such celebrity talk shows, along with TV newscasting and parliamentary debate (conducted amidst the audience bleachers) prove capable of absorbing any oddity or crisis, including the discovery of the giant newts. Media and government institutions transform the strange reptiles into fashion, party line and labor commodity, and thereby try to control the lives of the animals. The newts, however, find their assimilation unsatisfactory. They don't want to rebuild Saigon harbor or construct submarines for slave wages. Refusing to be treated like third-world immigrants, they rebel and flood the world. The ocean covers all of England.

This play from Liverpool, a city that experienced the worst street riots last summer, closed with scenes of riot and rebellion on its TV monitors, and with actors discussing the end of the human race.

Joel Schechter teaches at the Yale School of Drama.

CULTURE SHOCK

MODERN LIFE

In Silicon Valley, home of the micro-electronics industry, an ordained computer (programmed by a mail-order minister) performs marriages.

A BIG MOTHER

How big is AT&T? The North American Telephone Association, a trade group, reports it is larger than Fortune 500's top three combined



(Exxon, Mobil, GM), more than twice as large as the

top 10 defense contractors combined, and almost three times larger than its four largest potential competitors combined (IBM, ITT, Xerox and RCA). (access)

CONDO CEMETERIES

On Key West, Fla., space is at such a premium that old coffins are being reburied deeper in order to double up on spaces.

Hazards

Continued from page 24

ago, Shafer met a Fair Share organizer circulating a petition demanding the immediate clean up of the remaining wastes at the site.

Since she and other Ayers City residents have become active in the neighborhood health and safety project, Shafer has gotten results. Preliminary findings of a Fair Share health and safety survey documented serious health problems in the community. Of 22 recent pregnancies, 11 ended in miscarriages. The Department of Public Health has agreed to analyze and interpret survey data that Fair Share collects in a more comprehensive survey planned for this fall. DEQE has also begun to clean up the remaining PCBs at Silresim.

Finally, the state has agreed to make available a complete list of the approximately 100 firms—including General Electric, Polaroid, Raytheon, and Monsanto—who had used the Silresim site. "We want to see whether, legally or morally, we can hold the companies responsible," explains Phyllis Shafer, an Ayers City resident. "After all, they were the ones who dumped the stuff here in the first place."

Only on paper?

The Massachusetts state legislature has recently passed two laws governing the disposal of toxic wastes. The 1979 Hazardous Waste Management Act sets stringent requirements for waste companies and severe penalties for illegal disposal. The 1980 Hazardous Waste Facility Siting Act establishes elaborate procedures for selecting new waste sites. Together, they have become a model for similar legislation throughout the country.

The idea behind the 1980 law is to balance the interests of the state with the inevitable anxieties and concerns of local communities. A "hazardous waste facility safe siting council," made up of the heads of key state agencies and outside representatives appointed by the governor, first must determine whether a proposed site is "feasible and deserving" of state support. But once a site is declared feasible and deserving, the "host community" cannot veto it. The hazardous waste company can negotiate a contract with community representatives to make sure their concerns are taken into account, however.

Well and good. But earlier this year, the siting council approved its first proposed waste site in the city of Haverhill, not far from Lowell—without waiting for regulations defining just what "feasible and deserving" means.

The proposed site is located on the banks of the Merrimack River and in the river's flood plain. Cities downstream use the Merrimack for drinking water. The company that proposed the site—Solven Recovery Services, Inc.—has been fined more than \$3,000 in New Jersey for its involvement in chemical spills in the state.

And the federal EPA is currently suing SRS in Southington, for disposing millions of gallons of chemicals over a ten-year period into the ground around its facility there and contaminating Southington's drinking water.

"If the state of Massachusetts put together a blue-ribbon commission to find the worst possible site for a solvent plant," said one Haverhill city council member, "they couldn't have done a better job."

The Haverhill location violates guidelines established by the neighborhood health and safety committee, and Fair Share members have been active in organizing the opposition in Haverhill to the proposed SRS site. But leaders of the neighborhood health and safety program insist that they aren't opposed to all new facilities—only those that, like Haverhill, are demonstrably unsafe.

Fair Share's neighborhood health and safety program intends to create mechanisms for community participation in private industry decisions that affect public health. Community residents, aided by a union industrial hygienist serving as a consultant to Fair Share, have conducted pioneering community health and safety inspections.

The first community inspection took place last March at the Lewis Chemical Corporation in the Hyde Park area of Boston, where new tanks were being constructed. Fair Share researchers



Silresim's dumping area was perilously close to residences.

discovered that not only did Lewis not have a building permit for the new tanks but also the original transformation of the one-time tannery into a chemical processing plant in 1971 had violated Boston zoning ordinances. Still, government agencies did nothing.

Finally, Fair Share put pressure on Lewis' owner to open his plant to community representatives. On March 27, three Hyde Park residents and Richard Youngstrom, a certified industrial hygienist from Local 201 of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), toured the plant with DEQE offi-

we keep control local and have democratic input? Or is cable going to be an electronic pipeline taking the money and decisions out of town?"

The co-op, however, faced the classic problem with cable, and one that undoubtedly will bedevil any community-owned system. "People don't know what cable is," said Gosman, "and you have to explain it a lot, to a lot of people. Democracy is slow, and cable is fast. And expensive. We needed a lot of upfront money."

The co-op group got it, in the form of a development grant from the National Consumer Co-op Bank, from a host of small donors and from a handful of progressive local philanthropists. It took them \$150,000 and ferocious grassroots organizing to mount a campaign big enough to steer the city council away from private applications, and even then their proposal was flimsy by comparison with the pros.

But they were helped by two things. One was the exposure aldermen got in local papers every time their connections to cable companies were spotted in that area. The other was a pro-co-op petition signed by 5,500 people, or almost twice the number needed for an initiative that would have raised the issue. Since the co-op's proposal had received bipartisan support, legislators faced a popular movement against the private companies.

The city finally rejected all the bids, including the inadequate co-op proposal, while opting for community ownership. It is now studying options, raising as well some of the problems that come with municipal control. How to insulate the city from charges of censorship? How to regulate one's own business? How to balance consumers' needs and city's needs for revenue? And, crucially, how to raise the funds to build the original system?

The city should be in a legal and financial thicket for a while. But Paterson, N.J. provides one example. There the

Youngstrom discovered several potential hazards and possible violations of federal OSHA standards relating to the storage and handling of flammable substances. What's more, there were over 30,000 gallons of flammables in the Lewis plant whereas the company's permit allowed only 8,500. The city finally ordered Lewis Chemical shut down.

A second community inspection took place in August at a toxic waste transporter in Lowell. Project leaders are now trying to expand the principle of community participation to other industrial facilities and all kinds of environmental hazards beyond those associated with hazardous wastes, and to build coalitions with local unions.

The neighborhood health and safety approach has the potential to join workers and community members together in combating the whole range of potential hazards of industrial life—whether inside the factory or out of it. "Ultimately," says organizer John O'Connor, "we're working to set up a permanent relationship between neighborhood groups, unions, and industry. Because once those chemicals leave the plant gates or go out the smokestack or are discharged into the sewer system, they become a public matter, and they should be subject to the community's control." ■ Robert Howard writes regularly for *In These Times* on workplace and health and safety issues.

Cable

Continued from page 13

committee with some modifications lobbied by NFLCP and National League of Cities representatives, but with the NCTA's challenge to municipal control basically intact.

The NFLCP's executive director, Sue Buske, said after a day of frustration in committee, "The process is what bothers me. This is supposed to be a democracy, but there was no chance to discuss this issue. Why is the industry so nervous about discussing this in the open?"

Do it yourself.

So much for supply-side communications. More and more cities are considering a still largely-untested alternative—municipal ownership, or municipal control through ownership by a cable cooperative.

Models as yet are few. Of the existing 76 cable co-ops, 63 were started by 1955 when cable was just a way to get a clearer picture, and they average 355 subscribers, usually in rural areas. So when the city of St. Paul, Mn., chose community ownership in an area that would serve around 150,000 people, it was a quantum leap forward.

"Why should we let people in New York, Toronto or anywhere else take the profits out of the local economy?" said Neal Gosman, an organizer for the St. Paul Cable Co-op, the organization that proposed a co-op franchise to the city. "This is going to be a new Ma Bell. Will

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

NEW YORK, NY

September 9-15

The Jewish Film Festival, an alternative collection of award-winning international independent cinema, will take place at the 92nd Street YMHA at the corner of Lexington and 92nd Street. Programs include: Israeli New Wave Cinema, Yiddish Culture and Labor, Contemporary Identity. For more information, call (212) 427-4410.

NASHVILLE, TN

September 12-13

Join us for a conference on "Building a Progressive Movement for the '80s: A Tennessee

see Alternative." Workshops on racism, energy, politics, and other subjects. Help build a statewide network. Scaritt College—public meeting Friday night at Unitarian Church. Write Conference, P.O. 15995, Nashville, TN 37215.

CHICAGO, IL

September 16

"What We Can Do: Countering the Right's Offensive." Bob Breving, AFSCME and Chris Riddiough, NAM. At Cross Currents Hall, 3208 N. Wilton, Wednesday, 7:30 p.m. Auspices: Chicago DSOC.

SAN FRANCISCO, CA

October 10

"Primer Course on Candidate Development" Workshop. Learn how to become a winning candidate from a team of experts. Tuition: \$50. Must pre-register. Information: Laurel Springs Institute, 813 S. Hope St., Los Angeles, CA 90017, or call (213) 625-1956.

DIRECTORY

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for its listing.

Association for Workplace Democracy

1747 Connecticut Ave, N.W. Washington, DC 20009

Citizens Energy Project

1110 6th Street, N.W., #306 Washington, DC 20001

The Citizens Party of Illinois

109 N. Dearborn, Suite 603 Chicago, IL 60602 (312) 332-2066

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy

120 Maryland Ave., N.E. Washington, DC 20002

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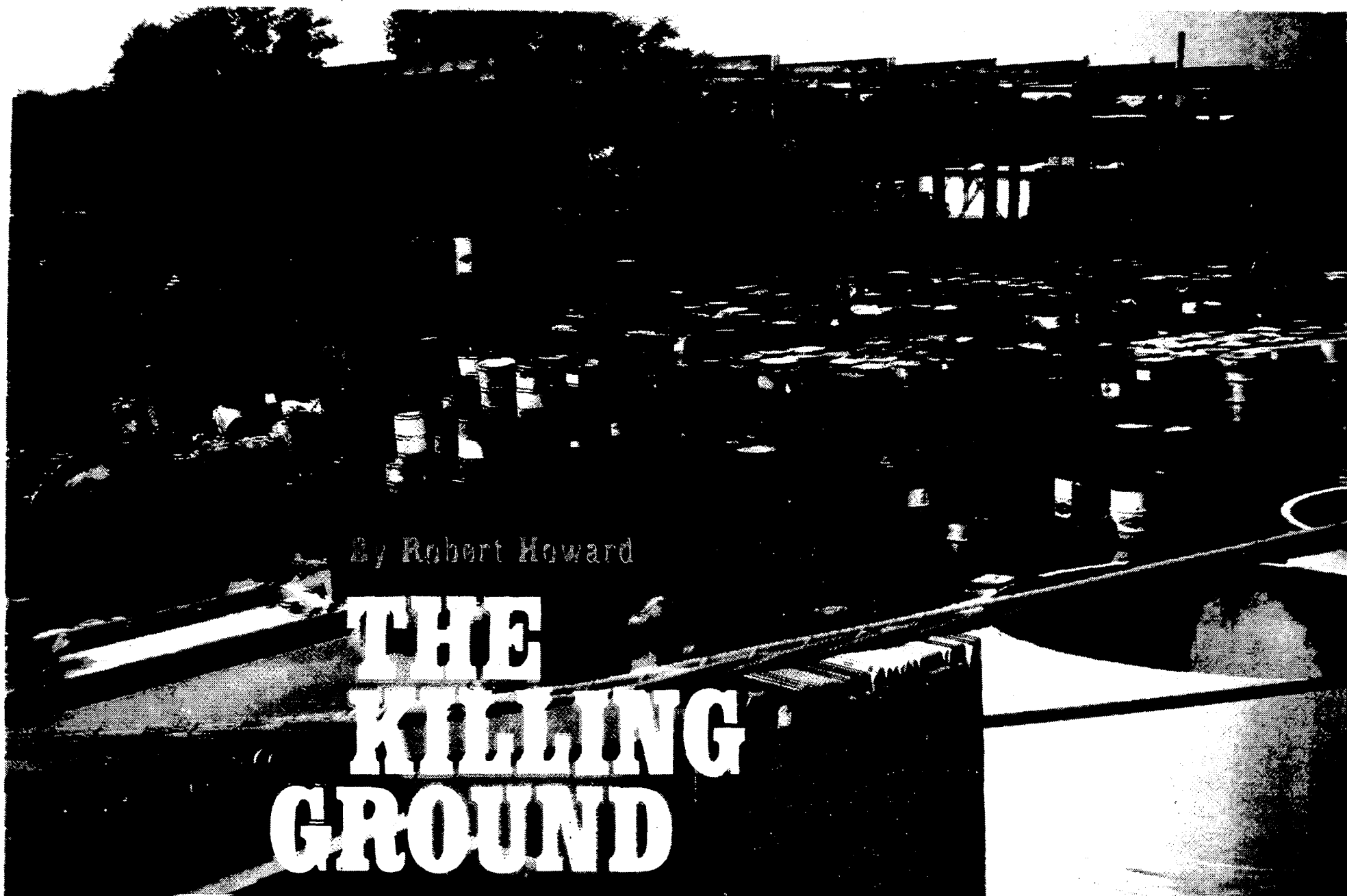
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By Robert Howard

THE KILLING GROUND

THE AYERS CITY NEIGHBORHOOD in Lowell, Mass., is about a ten-minute drive from the renovated historical buildings and old textile mills-turned-condominiums gracing the "urban national park" downtown. It houses an industrial site that tourists seldom see—the abandoned toxic dump of the Silresim Chemical Corporation.

From 1971 to 1977, an average of 250,000 gallons of hazardous industrial wastes were processed and stored at the five-acre Silresim site every month. When the state of Massachusetts finally closed the facility for repeated permit violations, more than one million gallons of toxic chemicals were left behind in 21,000 rusting drums and 29 bulk tanks.

Since 1978, the state has spent nearly \$3 million to clean up the Silresim site, but the job is still not done. On hot, humid summer days, the caustic odors emanating from the now-vacant lot blanket the Ayers City neighborhood like an invisible shroud.

Alyce Shafer, whose house is about three hundred yards from Silresim, has lived with the smell for years. At first, nobody knew where it came from. According to one rumor, raw sewage was the cause. Then, Shafer remembers, it seemed like everyone was getting sick. If it wasn't sore throats, it was skin irritations, watery eyes, or splitting headaches. Shafer's youngest daughter, June, began to suffer recurring bouts of pneumonia, as many as four and five times in a single year. "It got to the point," says Shafer, "that it was just sickness constantly. It got so bad, we thought maybe it was the house. I swear to God, I almost called the priest to come over and bless the house!"

But what made June Shafer ill had nothing of the supernatural about it. It was the chemicals carelessly stored at the Silresim site.

Threatened by hazardous waste and abandoned by regulators, the people of Lowell, Mass. are taking matters into their own hands.

Robert/The Citizen Advocate



June Shafer got pneumonia four times in a year after being subjected to hazardous waste.

In Massachusetts alone, there are 49 confirmed hazardous waste sites dangerous enough to require some kind of remedial action. The state's Department of Environmental Quality Engineering (DEQE) has another 142 suspected sites still under investigation. Of the approximately 30,000 to 50,000 disposal sites nationwide, the Environmental Protection Agency estimates that 400 require extensive cleaning up.

According to Tennessee congressman Albert Gore, the unsafe disposal of toxic wastes is "the single most important environmental health issue of the decade." Yet the political climate makes it unlikely that government will aggressively attack the hazardous waste problem at its source—the corporations that produce toxic substances and the companies that profit from their disposal.

But in Lowell and other Massachusetts communities, men and women like Alyce Shafer are discovering ways to take the initiative on hazardous waste themselves, through a statewide "neighborhood health and safety campaign" organized by the community action group Massachusetts Fair Share.

Cleaning up.

When Lowell engineer John Miserlis founded his company in 1971, there were no licensing procedures for hazardous waste facilities. So he put his toxic chemical dump in the middle of a neighborhood, near a brook that empties into the Concord River, and on top of a wetland where the water table is a mere three feet below the surface. Silresim routinely received a permit when the state finally began its licensing program in 1973. Within two years, however, state environmental officials were already threatening to close down the site for willful and repeated violations of state regulations.

In late 1977, Miserlis filed for bankruptcy and his permit for the site was finally revoked. The state of Massachusetts was left with the massive task of cleaning up the abandoned dump. Leaking and corroded drums covered nearly every inch of the five acre site, sometimes stacked four and five barrels high. Neighborhood children used to throw lighted matches through the fence surrounding

the site and watch as portions of the ground, permeated with highly flammable solvents, caught on fire. In 1978, an independent consultant informed the state that chemical spills at Silresim had polluted the soil and groundwater.

Over the next three years, state environmental agencies spent over \$2 million trying to clean up Silresim. But by summer 1981, more than 60,000 gallons of highly carcinogenic PCBs remained in the bulk tanks at the site and the extent of



State workers suit up to clean up Silresim.

ground and water contamination was still unknown. That was when members of Fair Share's Lowell chapter began to get involved in the neighborhood health and safety project.

Meanwhile, Alyce Shafer was determined to do something on her own about the dump-site. The Department of Public Health told her to call the Department of Environmental Quality Engineering. The DEQE official responsible for the Silresim clean-up never returned her calls. Her state representative said he was too busy to talk.

"It was like beating my head against the wall," says Shafer. "So I just gave up and resigned myself to the fact that my kid was going to be sick for the rest of her life." Then, about four months

Continued on page 22

David Brown/The Lowell Sun